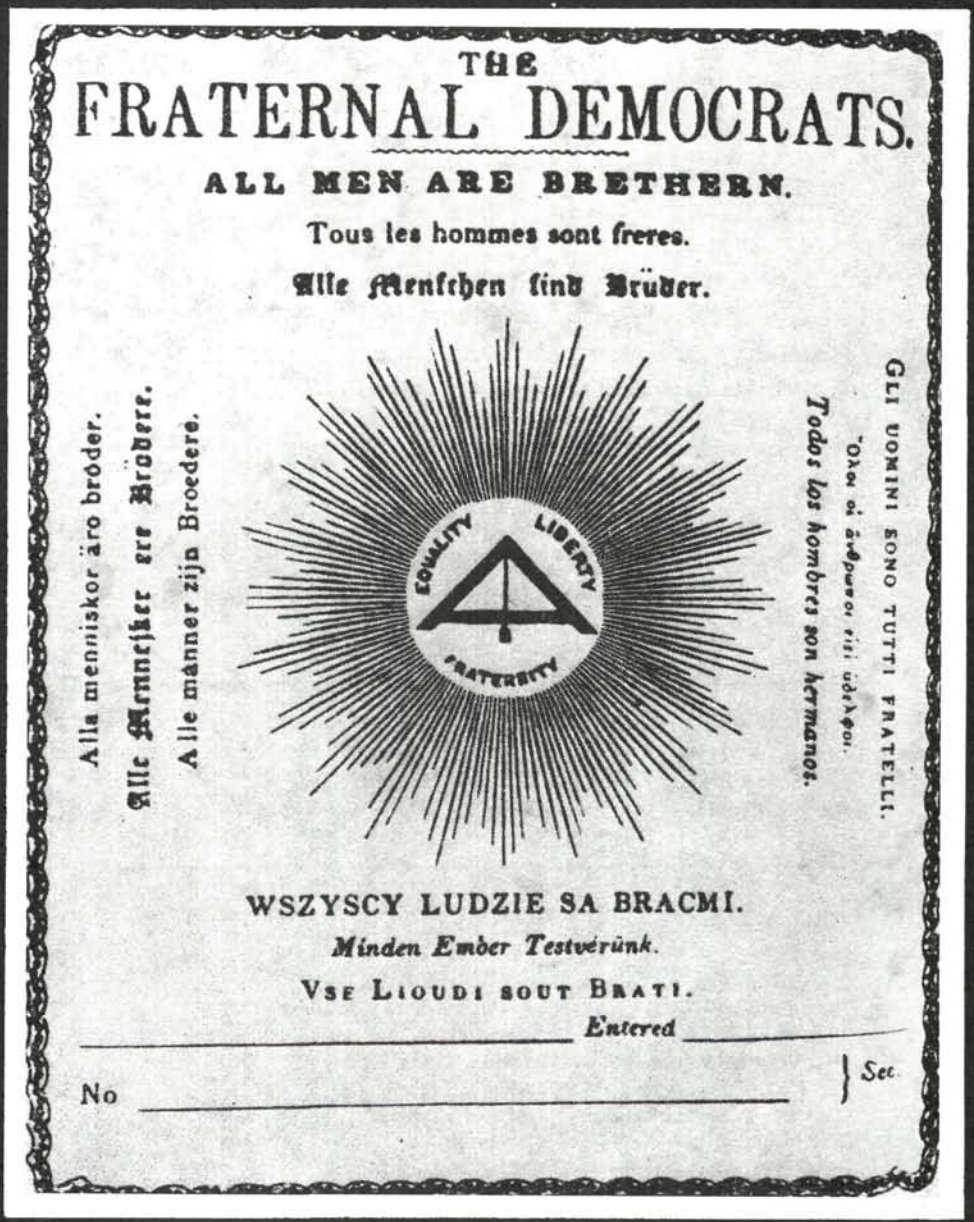
Marxism Today

Theoretical and Discussion Journal of the Communist Party



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EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Janos Kadar FROM THE REPORT TO THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Bela Biszcu PARTY DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Labour History

Mary Davis THE FORERUNNERS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL —THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS

Discussion

A. J. Papard SOCIALISM, DEMOCRACY AND THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

Robin Jardine WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

Dr. Len Crome INTELLIGENCE, RACE, CLASS AND EDUCATION

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MARXISM TODAY

THEORETICAL AND DISCUSSION JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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Editorial Comments

A FEATURE OF present-day capitalism is not only the rapid concentration of monopoly by merger and take-over, but, the corollary of this development, the equally rapid growth of the multi-national firm. This term describes the super-monopolies, oligopolies, conglomerates, which operate in many different countries, frequently switching capital, production and sometimes even labour from one country to another, playing off workers of one country against those in others and exploiting them all with equal intensity for their greater profit.

The conference held on the initiative of our Party and attended by fifteen European Communist Parties early last month to discuss—"the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries of Europe in face of the international firms"—was therefore of the very greatest importance.

It marked the beginning of a number of very useful developments. First, joint discussion, free from preconceived "lines", a joint exploration of a quite new phenomenon facing the working class and Communist movements with the need for further analysis in depth.

Second, the pooling of information. Detailed statements giving facts and figures of the operation of such firms on the European level were presented by all the parties participating. The sum total of all this valuable information makes it possible to build up something like a living picture of the international firms—who they are, where they operate, what kind of profits they make, what kind of political and industrial policies they pursue.

Third, and most important, the conference will undoubtedly assist the further development of joint struggle by the workers of the many different countries in which the various international firms operate.

For, as speaker after speaker emphasised, the international firms represent the sharpest possible threat to wages and working conditions, to the trade unions, the Labour movement and democratic forces, and to the national sovereignty of entire countries. Joint activities by shop stewards committees, solidarity action by trade unions, joint studies and seminars on this question, not only by Communist Parties but by the trade unions and shop stewards movements, the interchange of delegations, all these will undoubtedly receive a great stimulus as a result of the conference.

The conference was only able to begin discussing some of the important problems of theory to which this new "internationalisation of monopoly" has given rise. All agreed, for instance, that this development was not the harbinger of that "super-imperialism" which Lenin attacked when it was advanced by Kautsky many years ago.

Some important differences of viewpoint were revealed in the discussion of such questions as attitudes towards "home-grown" monopolies as opposed to the international firm when discussing national sovereignty. Likewise, the longer term significance of this accelerated development of the "integration" of the capitalist world from the standpoint of the fight to defend and advance working class conditions as well as in relation to the advance to socialism.

There was some interesting discussion on tactical problems of the attitude of the working class to the Common Market.

The Conference was an expression of the vitality and solidarity of the communist parties and will undoubtedly be followed by further joint discussions and study and by extended united action both by the Communist Parties and by the workers of European countries.

IN DEFENCE OF LIFE AND LIVING

The Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan was held in mid-October of last year.

It is very significant that one of the main reports made at the meeting was concerned with the struggle against pollution, the acute traffic problems in the Japanese cities, and the soaring prices. The resolution adopted was aptly entitled "In Defence of Life and Living".

The Eleventh Party Congress of the CPJ had already warned that such problems were "an unavoidable result of the high rate growth enforced in subordination to the United States and in the interest of monopoly capital".

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Now the Plenum unfolded a sorry picture of pollution caused by photochemical smog and sulphate mist in Tokyo, of contamination of the coastal area by the colloidal sediment of industrial waste, of pollution of sea water and of agriculture. Traffic accidents were reaching an unprecedented height.

A positive side of the picture was the awakening of a mass of Japanese people to this deep environmental crisis:

> "The struggle of fishermen in Suruga gulf against contamination, the struggle of farmers in Annaka against the damage from mine pollution, the struggle of the people in Tokyo and Osaka against air pollution and other struggles for the prevention and eradication of public hazards have spread all over the country and, as a result, unity has developed between bodies that bring together a whole range of organisations and individuals".

The Japanese Communists called for the broadest possible unity in the development of such struggles, welcomed actions initiated by Sohyo, the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions, including the organisation last November of a "Month for the Rooting-out of Public Hazard", and put forward specific proposals for a revision of the Basic Law of Anti-Pollution Measures, and for the involvement in this struggle of the local authorities.

The environmental crisis is so serious and world-wide that it shouts aloud for attention. It will never be solved by those whose most basic aim is the speediest and maximum profit, and a heavy responsibility to indicate the lines of solution lies with Communists all over the world.

The Japanese Communist Party has set a welcome example.

WHEN WILL THEY EVER LEARN?

Towards the end of 1970 a number of events took place in Western Germany which evoked bitter memories in the generation which lived through the "thirties".

The first was a joint meeting of the Executive Committee, the Party Council and the Control Commission of the Social-Democratic Party of Western Germany, on November 14th last. This meeting discussed, and approved, the general lines of a document entitled—"Social Democracy and Communism" and took a decision on "Collaboration with the German Communist Party (DKP) the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin and their youth organisations".

The terms of this resolution set the seal on the whole approach of the German Social-Democratic leaders to the vital question of united action by all progressive forces. They declare flatly:

> "There can be no unity of action between Social-Democrats and Communists.
>
> "The Party Council therefore calls on all Party organisations, members of which may have participated in joint meetings, issued joint publications, signed joint calls to action, jointly issued leaflets or collaborated in publications issued by any of the above organisations to impress on these members the harm done to the party by such activities and, where necessary, to have the behaviour of such members investigated by a party body".

The document is one long anti-communist tirade.

Every mistake and negative feature in the socialist countries is blown up out of all proportion and used as an argument against such joint action. The document strongly condemns and opposes any idea of united action whatsoever.

As the Executive Committee of the German Communist Party said in its comment, "This decision is a fatal one because it is directed against the collaboration of all democrats. It thereby repeats the mistakes made by the Social-Democratic leadership in 1933".

As if to drive home the correctness of this estimate, comes news of the Nazi-type activities of a new right-wing organisation called "Aktion Widerstand" or "Operation Resistance". This organisation has already attacked offices of *Die Falken* (a socialist youth organisation), of the German Communist Party and the German Trade Union Federation, and destroyed a Lenin Memorial Plaque in Munich by dynamite, etc.

Both the German Communist Party and a Social-Democratic MP have publicly demanded the banning of this new terror organisation. But so far nothing has been done.

The rejection of working-class unity and the growth of fascist organisations paved the way for Hitler. When will they ever learn?

CUBA AND DEMOCRACY

The Fifth National Council of the Central Organisation of Cuban Trade Unions was held at the beginning of last September.

When Fidel Castro addressed the meeting he was concerned primarily with problems and difficulties—housing, supplies of textiles, conditions of work in the factories, and above all how to solve the question of absenteeism.

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Such problems as absenteeism, he insisted, "cannot be solved in a revolutionary society by administrative methods". Any measures to be taken must be elaborated in consultation with the workers, after surveys of workers' opinions, so that they "spring from the workers".

To solve the many problems facing Cuba, Fidel insisted, needs the involvement of the masses, demands socialist democracy:

> "If, through the work of the masses, we win this battle, we will be able to make great progress. We will make great progress if we establish the greatest degree of democratisation of the process. No state can be more democratic than a socialist state; no state can or should be more democratic. If a socialist state is not democratic, it will fail. . . .
>
> "If we were to use capitalist methods to solve our problems, what kind of a communist man, what kind of man with a superior mind, culture and consciousness would we be creating? . . .
>
> "If socialism does not spring from the masses, it will fail, because it must work for the masses and it can only solve our problems with the support of the masses. . . ."
>
> "Without the masses, socialism would lose the battle and become bureaucratic. It would have to adopt capitalist methods and retreat in the field of ideology. No society can be more democratic than socialist society, because without the masses socialism could not triumph."

Fidel Castro's speech was printed in full in the English edition of *Granma* (September 20th, 1970).

He attached great importance to the development of trade union democracy and the holding of trade union elections in all locals, in all factories. The workers, he stressed, must be completely free to select their leaders, subject to recall at further elections. Socialist society to have the support of the masses "must be as democratic as possible and eliminate administrative methods altogether".

CANADIAN COMMUNISTS ON TERRORISM

We have been asked what was the attitude of Canadian Communists to the recent kidnappings carried out by the FLQ.

We would recommend that any reader who wishes to examine their attitude in detail to read the *Canadian Tribune* of October 14, 1970, which contains an important statement from the Communist Party of Canada. "Kidnapping and other acts of terrorism are not the forms of struggle", the statement reads, that "the working class and the Communist Party adopt in striving for social change. These are anarchistic methods of struggle which have nothing in common with the necessity of uniting the working class and its allies against Canadian monopoly and US imperialism". "Indeed", it continues, "acts of terrorism and kidnapping, irrespective of the motives of those behind it, merely give reaction a pretext to perpetuate its anti-people and anti-national policy".

The Canadian Party's statement makes it quite clear that it is not enough to condemn kidnappings or terrorism as a form of struggle. "It is even more necessary to condemn the inequality—national, social and economic—which exists in Quebec". The statement continues:

> "The heart of the problem in Quebec is national and social equality, and no amount of trickery can push it aside. The Communist Party has campaigned for years in English and French Canada for a new Canadian constitution based on the equal, voluntary partnerships of the two nations, based on the right to national self-determination. It has long campaigned for far-reaching structural changes which would wrest control of the economy from monopoly, Anglo-Canadian and US monopoly alike".

Whilst the Canadian Communist Party, therefore, disassociates itself from the tactics of the FLQ, "which do harm to the struggle for meaningful social change in Quebec and throughout Canada", its main criticism is levelled at monopoly and its parties, all of whom helped to bring the crisis about.

The *Parti Communiste du Quebec* has made a similar statement, in which it declares that "the road to social and national liberation for Quebec and for Canada as a whole is the united struggle of the working people of both nations on the basis of equality and genuine respect for the national aspirations of the French-Canadian nation".

ACCUSATION FROM PRISON

Under this title the December 1970 issue of *New Blackfriars* (a monthly review edited by the English Dominicans) publish an abridged version of a document composed by the Dominican friars, who have been imprisoned in Sao Paulo, Brazil, since 1969.

The document is the outcome of their joint reflections and those of other Christian prisoners who have been with them. It falls into three parts: a meditation on the role of the Church in the world, an account of conditions in contemporary Brazil, and a justification of the revolutionary political position which they have adopted.

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The friars are concerned to express their deep belief that:

> "to carry out an effective witness to Christ in the world, the faith of the Church cannot be a mere intellectual adherence to the message: it must be a living witness, an inner dynamic giving shape to the actions of men, and this living witness and dynamic is that of love, the sign of being disciples of Christ".

But what is meant by love in this sense? The friars continue:

> "The Christian is seen in his love for his fellow men, seeing his brother Jesus in the face of each, and particularly in the poor and the oppressed. The Church is indissolubly bound up with mankind, and nothing is foreign to its concern . . .
>
> "Living in hope of the coming of the Kingdom does not diminish, but rather increases, the need to build a more human world."

When the friars come on to describe "the present reality of Brazil", they are not at all speaking in vague or abstract terms:

> "We live in a country where 125 of every 1,000 children born die before the age of one: in the Northern Rio Grande the number is 525, more than half. The majority of the population suffers from endemic diseases of malnutrition; two thirds go hungry. Half are illiterate; education is still for the privileged classes . . .
>
> "The peasant lives in poverty and slavery; totally dependent on the landowners, he is exploited from birth to death . . . Any attempt at revolt is harshly punished—even with death—either by the landowner and his henchmen, or by the so called 'forces of law and order', who inevitably side with the landowner . . . For the workers, life is not much different . . .
>
> "Institutionalised violence, already responsible for the deaths of thousands every year from hunger and disease, does not hesitate to turn itself into armed violence when it fears its interests might be threatened."

When the friars turn to consider what should, in their opinion, be the Christian response to the present reality of Brazil, their voice is unequivocal:

> "The present Brazilian government acts in defiance of every single tenet of Christian social teaching. There is no freedom and no justice. For Christians, the time has come to speak out and, even more, to act . . .
>
> "We cannot accept the present situation, because to do so would be to accept being less than human, and the government has left open no peaceful way to change. The only way a violent dictatorship has left to us is the way of revolution . . .
>
> "There is no other way out. So, driven by love for our brothers, by our evangelical understanding of truth, justice and freedom, conscious of our mission as a Church and as Christians—whether laymen, priests or religious orders—we are responding to the need to work with the people for their liberation, running the risks this entails in the climate of terrorism created by our violent military dictatorship . . ."

In the following (January, 1971) issue of *New Blackfriars*, the Brazilian Ambassador in London indignantly replies to the friars, but, with all his anger, the essence of their accusation remains without response.

A SOCIALIST ANTHOLOGY

In the *Penguin Book of Socialist Verse* edited by Alan Bold (12/-) poems are included by 134 poets from all over the world—all but a dozen from the twentieth century. Nothing like this collection for scope and variety has yet been published in English, and it deserves close reading by everyone who believes that "political and social references, far from making art only topical, tend to make it universal, as the work of Chaucer or Dante or Shakespeare shows."

One way of making a Socialist anthology would be to concentrate on a few major writers (such as Neruda, Aragon, Brecht, Ritsos, MacDiarmid) and print enough from each to suggest the range of his work. The other, which Bold has followed, is to give something, even if only a single poem, from a very large number of writers and from almost every country where a Socialist movement exists, and let the variety of setting, experience and style emerge from this. Readers who feel tantalised at meeting new poets in such short snippets will find ways of following them up in Bold's acknowledgments, which list the collections from which the poems are taken, most of them in English or American editions.[1] Meanwhile the volume is an inspiring one to read.

There is admittedly some truth in what Peter Levi said of his own translations of Yevtushenko, "a translated poem is like a ruined building". Effects of rhythm, sound, association and conversational idiom are lost even in the best translation.[2] The music of Aragon, for instance, is impossible to render. So the poems are inevitably more skilful and poignant than these versions can convey. But it's amazing how powerful the effect of idea and image can be none the less, where the poetry has the brilliance and sensuous richness of Neruda, or the bitter precision of Ho Chi Minh's "The Leg Irons".

[1] Penguins have recently published selected volumes of Hugh MacDiarmid, Vasco Popa and Hans Erzenberger.

[2] And some of the translations are not the best. The unfamiliar version of the Internationale used here, for instance, is more remote from the French original than the one we usually sing, and hardly less stilted.

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"With hungry mouths open like a wicked monster,
Each night the irons devour the legs of people:
The jaws grip the right leg of every prisoner:
Only the left is free to bend and stretch.
Yet there is one thing stranger in this world:
People rush in to place their legs in irons.
Once they are shackled, they can sleep in peace.
Otherwise they would have no place to lay their heads."

Or again, the delicate concreteness of Nazim Hikmet:

"A sunny pathway stretches beyond the mulberries,
I stand before the window in the prison hospital,
cannot smell the smell of medicine
somewhere carnations must be in bloom.
That's how it goes, my friend.
The problem is not falling a captive,
it's how to avoid surrender."

Many of the poets write from countries where Socialism has been or is about to be fought for with guns. Few have any romantic illusions about the ugliness of killing, but it's often the extreme situation, the extreme test of conviction in war or in prison that forces a Socialist writer into poetry and gives him a great audience. Out of this kind of experience come many Spanish, Chinese, Greek, Cuban and Vietnamese writers.

But the establishment of a Socialist system is only a beginning for poetry. Some of the most moving poems come from those writers, especially perhaps in Eastern Europe, who defend the essential humanity of Socialism, against bureaucracy, repression and cruelty wherever they happen. Their work involves, as Bold says, " a deeper critique of totalitarianism than will ever come from the bourgeoisie". Such writers include Holub (Poland), Brecht (GDR), and Yevtushenko, whose lines speak as directly to the young in our schools and colleges as they do to their generation in the Soviet Union.

Telling lies to the young is wrong.
Proving to them that lies are true is wrong.
Telling them that God's in his heaven
And all's well with the world is wrong.
The young know what you mean. The young
are people.
Tell them the difficulties can't be counted,
And let them see not only what will be
but see with clarity these present times . . .

The perfect anthology does not exist and never will: personal taste and shortage of space ensure that. One may perhaps wish that Alan Bold had found room for more than fifteen modern poets writing in the English language, more songs, more of the satirical and the wry humour (Rickward? Porter? McGough?) that's so important in the radical and working class tradition. But this is only to say that there can and should be other anthologies, as well as the widest popularisation of this one.

CAPITALIST SOCIETY AND MODERN SOCIOLOGY

Questions about how, and how much, capitalist society has changed, and what are the consequences of such changes for socialist perspectives and for the strategy and tactics of class struggle, are at the centre of live political discussion today. An interesting book published at the end of last year by Lawrence & Wishart, *Capitalist Society and Modern Sociology* by H. Frankel-bears[3] directly on these questions.

A sociologist now on the staff of a London college of further education, Frankel bases his book on consideration of the argument that capitalism has changed beyond recognition and that Marxist analysis is outmoded and should be replaced by modern "sociological" theory.

Not the least valuable part of his work is the second chapter, "The Critics and their Alternatives", in which he presents a summary of modern "sociological" theories—Fabianism, Edward Bernstein, Max Weber, theories of "elites", "the mass society", "the managerial revolution", "functionalism", "conflict", and so on. While making the case strongly that none of these theories can stand up as an alternative to Marxism, he at the same time time argues that their concepts do reflect definite social facts and that the complexities they deal with must be tackled by and incorporated into any valid Marxist analysis today.

Frankel then embarks on an elaborate, positive and factual analysis of capitalist society as it exists in Britain today, dealing with the contemporary face of the capitalist class, the changes in the structure, standards and political attitudes of the working class, and the anatomy of the intermediate sections, "the middle class", with their relations to the ruling capitalist class on the one hand, and the industrial working class on the other. He concludes: "This new material, which has been extensively quoted in the present work, bears out the conclusion that the capitalist system is ripe for overthrow and that the most scientific sociological theory to help bring this transformation is Marxism".

[3] *Capitalist Society and Modern Sociology* by H. Frankel, 295 pp., Lawrence & Wishart, London, £3.25 (65s.).

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From the Report to the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

JANOS KADAR, *First Secretary of the Central Committee*

We print below two sections of the Report delivered by Janos Kadar on November 23rd last year to the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—the section on "The Development of State Life and Socialist Democracy" and the section on "The Leading Role of the Party and the Development of Party Activity". Other sections dealt with "The Socialist Development of our Society", "The Party's Policy of Alliances", "The Party's Economic Policy", "The Ideological Work of the Party", and "The International Precondition of our Socialist Construction". The sub-heads are ours.

The Development of State Life and Socialist Democracy

Our State is a people's democracy which is the embodiment of workers' power and which fulfills an historical role indispensable for the working class in directing economic and cultural life and in organising the building of socialism. The proper and organised activity of our State has an inestimable role and significance in the successes so far attained and in the history-shaping work of our people.

The strength of the socialist state lies in the fact that its main political base is the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, that in its activities it can rely on the wide support of the population, of the millions of working people. The state of the working class, the socialist achievements of the working people, the independence of the Hungarian People's Republic, its territorial inviolability and its internal order are faithfully defended by our armed forces, the people's army, the border guards, the forces of public order and security organs. The Central Committee and the Government consider home defence and the defence of our society as the cause of our whole people. They provide and will continue to provide the necessary personal and material conditions for this.

The Socialist State

The functions of the state change in the course of development. Under socialist conditions, the oppressive role of the state gradually decreases, while its political, economic and cultural activities gradually increase. Today, our state is already involving the various organisations, the forces of society and individual citizens in solving many tasks. In addition to the armed forces, the workers' guard, the voluntary police and members of civil defence are helping in the defence of our country and of its ruling power. The trade unions are already responsible for most of the social insurance, for sick pay, hospitalisation and labour-safety. Large masses of workers take part in state activities as council activists, as lay people's judges and as people's inspectors.

It is our conviction that the state has an important role to play in the period of building socialism. We cannot accept views which question the role of the socialist state, under-estimate its importance and, by weakening state power, virtually jeopardise the achievements of the people. Our domestic tasks and international circumstances demand that the socialist state be strengthened, that its role as economic and cultural organiser be increased and that the work of state administration be improved and enhanced. At the same time efforts must be made to see that ever larger numbers of the population take an active part in public life, in the work of state bodies and councils, and in the work of other state organisations. The further development of state life, of socialist democracy is a task which, if successfully solved, will give added impetus to our continued progress.

Our plan aimed at the further development of socialist democracy is based on firm foundations, as in our country power has been consolidated, our Party and the working class have had twenty-

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five years experience in building the state, and the political situation in our country makes it not only necessary but also possible to realise our plans.

Further development of state affairs and of socialist democracy presupposes the further consolidation of the workers' power and the socialist state, the enhancement of its strength and efficiency. The essence of the further development of the life of our state, of socialist democracy, is the simultaneous strengthening of the central power and of the autonomy of local bodies.

We attribute importance to the modernisation of legislative and governmental work. Our National Assembly is the main embodiment of the people's sovereignty, the principal legislative body in our country. If we want to accelerate the progress of our society, to develop the socialist character of our system, it is necessary to enhance the legislative activities of the National Assembly and to augment its role in the constitutional control over governmental work.

The advance of the building of socialism requires of the Communists active in the state apparatus, of every working man and woman a more consistent enforcement of our policy, a more efficient representation of the interests of the working class, the exact implementation of the decrees of the government, correct methods of guidance, efficient public administration, and a highly effective transaction of affairs. The improvement of state administration, the precise definition of spheres of authority, the efficient personal responsibility in transacting affairs are, at the same time, the most effective means of fighting bureaucracy. This struggle is our permanent and elementary duty; our development would be retarded if we neglected it.

Local and Higher Councils

In improving state administration and the transaction of affairs we can count upon the civil servants who have a pivotal position in the realisation of our aspirations. The civil servant is a representative of the state and serves the public. His attitude and his relations to the citizens greatly influences their opinions, their views about state power—and this is where the transactions of affairs becomes politics.

Now the central task in developing state life is the enhancement of the sphere of authority and work of local and higher councils. We are convinced that it is an important step forward in the building of socialism and in easing the life of the people that the councils, which adminster the bulk of affairs, have more independence and greater responsibility.

The Central Committee considers it necessary that, simultaneously with the development of state administration and of its competence, the self-governing character of the councils and their role in representing the people be enhanced. This does not contradict the principle and practice of our state organisation which is based on democratic centralism. On the contrary, this is the way to ensure that only such affairs remain within the competence of the central organs as are important from the point of view of entire social processes, while affairs that can be solved locally should be settled by local bodies.

It is important that the ministries and other central and state bodies should at the earliest possible time, transfer authority on certain concrete measures to the Budapest Municipal Council and to the county councils. It is also necessary that, simultaneously, the Budapest Municipal Council should transfer its jurisdiction to make decisions on affairs which can be acted on better locally to the district councils, and the county councils to the town and village councils; in this way they can help bring about the prerequisites for the assertion of autonomy, responsibility and self-government.

The self-governing character of the councils presupposes and requires close contacts with the population and the masses, and a many-sided control of their activities. Control over council administration is exercised by the Government, the higher council bodies, the council members, the electors and the masses.

There are people who think that the further decentralisation in guidance and the enhancement of the councils' independence endangers the stability of the people's power. Our Central Committee is convinced that the further development of state affairs and of socialist democracy, including the enhancement of the independence of councils, is a correct class policy which strengthens our state and the power of the working people.

New Electoral Law

As for state life, it is an unchanging requirement of socialist democracy that legality should fully prevail in our country. It is an indispensable element of socialist legality on the one hand, that no one infringes our constitutional legal order with impunity, and on the other hand, that all law-abiding citizens, irrespective of origin, occupation and world outlook enjoy full protection. These two requirements of socialist legality prevail now and will in the future too. Our Party and our Government consider this a fundamental duty.

We attribute great importance to the new electoral law and new rules of procedure which will further develop our electoral system, so that it will even more appropriately express the people's will. The general, equal and secret ballot is, in our country, the achievement of the people's democratic system. The improvement of our electoral system is an important element in the further development

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of socialist democracy. The essence of this is that, through the extension of the nomination rights and the possibilities of choice, citizens should be able to send to the National Assembly and to the councils the persons whom they consider the best suited for the jobs.

One of the new provisions of the electoral law is that, in the future, members of the Budapest Municipal Council and of the county councils will not be elected directly by the electors, but—through indirect election—by the local councils. In this way the county councils directing the work of village councils will consist, in fact, of the representatives of the local councils.

The Constitution

The Ninth Congress pointed out that it was time to modify our Constitution. It took quite a long time to work this out but now it is in a fairly advanced stage and can be completed in the near future. The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, which was promulgated in 1949, is a great historic achievement of our people. The Constitution, passed more than two decades ago, declared that the Hungarian People's Republic is the state of the working people. It summed up the results of our struggles and the work which had been accomplished until then, and outlined the direction of our country's development.

In the past twenty years radical changes have taken place in the political, economic and cultural life of our country. Despite achievements of historical significance, it is still not necessary to work out a new Constitution. But we do consider it necessary, and propose, that the National Assembly modify and further develop the fundamental law of the Hungarian People's Republic in accordance with our present situation. The modified Constitution should reflect the changes of the past two decades. It should incorporate the changes that have occurred in state life, in the activities of the National Assembly, the government and the councils and, in general, in the work of the state institutions. It should define more exactly the rights and duties of the citizens in the present phase of socialist construction.

When dealing with questions connected with the modification of the Constitution, the problem arose of the country's official name, coat-of-arms and state flag and this obviously may arise later in wider circles. The name "Hungarian People's Republic" fully expresses the greatest result of the struggle of our working class and of our people, that is, that it succeeded in creating its greatest historic achievement so far—the people's state.

In its main characteristics, in its property and class relations, our state, our social system is already socialist. However, the building of socialist society has not yet been completed. It is the opinion of our Party that the time has not yet come to proclaim our country a socialist republic. We are of the opinion that it is better to get on with the work and be a little late with renaming than to hurry with giving a new name and lag behind with socialist construction. At present, too, the name of the Hungarian People's Republic unmistakably means and proclaims, everywhere and to everybody, the power, the State, the homeland of our working people, the new socialist world in construction.

The Leading Role of the Party
The Development of Party Activity

Our Party, as the Marxist-Leninist, communist vanguard of the Hungarian working class, is the ideological-political guide of our society. It directs and organises socialist construction and, through this, serves the interests of the entire Hungarian people. It is a ruling Party whose policies have a decisive impact on the whole life of the country and society.

The Party is able correctly to fulfil its historic mission only because it is guided in its activity by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party advocates the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. It follows Lenin's precept. ". . . our teaching is not a dogma but a guide to action". In another place Lenin expresses the same idea, but in other words: ". . . what is most important, what constitutes the very gist, the essential soul of Marxism—a complete analysis of the concrete situation."

Our Party bases its position on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the revolutionary experiences of the Hungarian and international working class, and its decisions on the concrete examination of the given situation. During the last 15 years our Party was confronted by three major tasks: to defend and consolidate the people's power by smashing the forces of the counter-revolution; to carry out the socialist reorganisation of agriculture; and finally, to cope with the complicated problems of improving the system of economic management. Our Party was able to solve these great tasks satisfactorily above all

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because it has definitely rejected both revisionist and dogmatic methods of approach and has followed the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Democratic Centralism

The most important organisational principle in the operation of our Party is democratic centralism which Lenin worked out with scientific accuracy for the communist movement. The Leninist basic principles of organisation and function of a new type of revolutionary party of the working class have been proved in history and are valid to this day. The principle of democratic centralism is complemented by the principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility. On the basis of our own experience we can assert with full conviction that, whenever these principles are violated, Marxism-Leninism cannot fully prevail, policy is distorted, the Party's relations with the masses weakens, and it loses its ability to act. Conversely when they are closely observed, the strength of the Party greatly increases.

In our practice we urge the democratic preparation of decisions, the thorough and free discussion of problems, the taking into consideration of various opinions and heeding the unified, compulsory and exact implementation of the adopted resolutions. Without Party democracy it is impossible to create true ideological and political unity, it is impossible to develop the high degree of consciousness which is rooted in inner conviction. Without centralism, without the subordination of the lower to the higher organisations, the Party is not an organised force, it loses the character and force of a vanguard, and it degenerates into a number of impotent debating societies incapable of united action.

In its organisational structure and in its internal life our Party faithfully follows the long-established Leninist principles of the revolutionary Party of the working class. We are able to report that during the period under review the Party showed sound ideological, political and organisational development, and is progressing in indivisible unity.

Party Organisation

Four years ago the Party had 19,000 local branches and around 585,000 members and candidate members. Now we have 21,000 branch organisations and 662,000 members—77,000 more than four years ago, an increase of 13 per cent. On the basis of the resolution of the Ninth Congress, the system of candidate membership was discontinued in our Party. Out of the 37,900 candidate members then registered, 35,250 comrades were admitted to Party membership, the decision being based on individual merit. Experience shows that discontinuing the system of candidate membership in our Party was correct.

The size and composition of the Party membership has on the whole, developed satisfactorily. The increase in membership has been in harmony with the growth of the force of attraction of communist ideals and of the political influence of the Party. The working-class character of our Party is inherent in the composition of the membership. Seventy per cent of the membership are workers by original occupation; 38 per cent of the membership are still engaged in manual labour. As a result of the shifts in the stratification of society, the proportion of manual workers dropped by 4.5 per cent within the whole membership. The average age of Party members has slightly increased and is at present 44 years. Forty-eight per cent of the new members admitted in the period reported on are manual workers with a satisfactory proportion of women among them; the various age groups are also well represented: 84 per cent of the new members are under 40.

Three generations of revolutionaries—the veterans, the middle-aged and the younger generation—are living, working and fighting side by side. It is noteworthy that over half of the present party members have joined the Party since 1956, they have come close to the Party and became Party members in the course of the struggle waged since then. The new members of the Party are generally people who are outstanding in work, they come from amongst the activists of social and mass organisations, and this must be so in the future too. The campaign-type approach in admitting new members should be avoided in the future too. Special attention should be paid to strengthening the working-class character of the Party in the future too, and to the admission of industrial workers, manual workers, women and young people.

The Main Strength

The size of the Party's membership is not unimportant from the point of view of its organisational strength. The Party's strength and real effectiveness, however, in addition to the correct political line, lies in the unity of its membership. The Central Committee is able to report to the Congress that during the last four years the ideological, political and organisational unity of our Party has continued to grow.

We do not consider the unity of our Party as a thing that is given forever. The unity of our Party is firm in the essential political, economic and ideological problems. But in practical work, in every new question, this unity has to be continuously recreated. The Party will continue to work on strengthening its unity: nobody from within or without will be permitted by the Party to disrupt or destroy this. Voluntarily accepted Party dis-

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cipline in its Leninist sense is compulsory for everyone regardless of position or rank.

The main strength of the Party lies in the truth of its ideals and in the support it gets from the masses. The forthcoming tasks of building socialism impose greater demands on the Party's mass-political, agitational and propaganda work. It is the duty of every branch and every member of the Party to represent the policy of the Party and to publicise its aims. The agitational and propaganda media of the Party—the press, the radio, television and the Party papers and periodicals, all serve this task.

The central daily organ of the Party *Népszabadság* has a circulation of 755,000 copies and its 19 county dailies a total of 780,000. *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Social Review), the theoretical monthly of the Party, is published in 36,000 copies and its organisational journal *Pártelét* (Party Life), is issued monthly in 95,000 copies.

Our Party rejects all expression of underestimation of the masses and all manipulations of public opinion. At the same time, it regards it as tremendously important to keep the general public well informed and to propagate the ideals of socialism. The mass media in the hands of the Party and the people's state have to serve these noble aims in the future even more and better than before.

Policy and Practice

During this period of preparation for the Congress, the most topical questions of Party work were thoroughly discussed throughout the Party. The Party members, while generally recognising the achievements, criticised in many places, and with good reason, the fact that Party policy was not carried out in certain issues or areas, or was carried out inconsistently or erroneously. The adequate implementation of Party policy can be ensured only if the Central Committee, the intermediary bodies of the Party leadership and the local branches identically interpret and co-ordinate the tasks, working all together and for the same goals. It was evident from the discussions at meetings preceding the Congress that there has to be a greater consistency than ever before in policy and a uniformity in implementation; the strengthening of Party control and the improvement of branch activity are now highly important for the advancement of Party work.

In the work of the Central Committee and its executive organisations—the Political Committee, the Secretariat, the apparatus of the Central Committee—and partly in the activities of the Party committees and Party organisations as well, stress in the recent period was put on an analysis of various questions, on working out of Party resolutions, and to a lesser extent than required, on controlling the carrying out of the resolutions.

The improvement of control is indispensable and urgent throughout the Party, so that practice fully corresponds with principled decisions, and that Party policy fully prevails in the entire sphere of economic, and cultural activity and in social policy. More effective control is necessary for the better and speedier utilisation of experience, the constant improvement of practical work, and the continuous development of the ideological and political work of the Party.

The local branches of the Party have a particularly important role in the carrying out of Party resolutions, and in the strengthening of the Party's contacts with the masses. Millions of the labouring people judge the Party's policy to no small degree on the basis of experience at their immediate place of work, on how the Party policy is implemented locally, on the activity of the local branches, on the behavour of the communists.

In the conditions of the economic reform a part of the Party bodies and Party branches, have not yet found a new, more suitable form for their work. Certain state and economic leaders underestimate the importance of political work and of the role of the local Party organisations. While the independence and authority of economic management has been strengthened, there was no simultaneous satisfactory growth in many places in the influence of the Party organisations on the factors which fundamentally determine the factories' activities. They were unable sufficiently to assert the Party's policy. They were unable to act with sufficient resolution against faults and shortcomings.

It is the proud responsibility of the Party and the communists to be in the vanguard of struggle and work, to set an example. This entails a high degree of discipline, selflessness, loyalty to principles, resolution, spontaneous activity and initiative of the communists. In the future the Party will require to a greater degree and will even demand that every member take an open and completely unwavering stand for the Party's policy and resolutions of the Party, fighting and working for their realisation.

The Party Rules

From the standpoint of the Party's life and work the stipulations of the Party Rules have a determining role. The Central Committee has submitted to the Party membership for discussion, and is now submitting to the Congress for decision, its proposals regarding modifications to the Party Rules.

The Party Rules suitably reflect the fact that our Party is a Communist Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, a part of the international communist and working class movement, which is led in its activities by Marxist-Leninist theory and the idea of proletarian internationalism.

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In its structure and method of work it meets the requirements set for the revolutionary vanguard. Therefore the fundamental principles of the Party Rules do not require changes. For this reason we recommend to the Congress only such changes which are not effected by the guidelines and which are made necessary by the changing circumstances and will increase the effectiveness of Party work.

We have put the detailed proposals for modifications of the Party Rules, and the reasons for this, into the hands of the delegates in writing. Among them are the three additional amendments that the Central Committee had decided on at its last meeting, on November 12th, after taking into consideration the opinion of the Party membership. In the report we shall touch upon only a few questions of these:

We propose that the lower age limit for the admission of new members be reduced from 21 to 18 years. The majority of the Party membership agrees with this; even those who questioned the need for lowering the age limit were motivated by concern for the Party. The purpose of the amendment is to make it possible for young people participating in production, young people fulfilling their duty in national defence, students in institutes of higher learning, generally the young, politically mature citizens otherwise enjoying full rights, to join the Party.

The Party membership has received with approval the proposal that we should decide on all questions in the Party by a simple majority. The healthy, free atmosphere prevailing within the Party does not make it necessary for us to continue to maintain the procedure of requiring a two-thirds majority vote.

The members agree that the leadership of the branch organisations be elected every four years, a longer period than before, because it provides the possibility for its members to gain experience, and ensures the continuity of leadership; at the same time giving annual reports to the membership meetings stimulates the Party organisations to do better work, and broadens the rights of the membership.

The amendment that provides for the protection in our Party of the freedom of criticism has met with the unanimous approval of the Party membership. We propose the following formulation—"the competent Party organ is required to institute proceedings against those who stifle criticism"—be included in the Party Rules. The purpose of the proposal is to protect more resolutely and completely than hitherto the right of criticism within the Party and in public life.

We propose reducing dues for Party members with low incomes, and raising them for those with high incomes. According to the proposal which introduces a new category, Party members with higher earnings will now pay monthly dues of 400 forints.

For unequivocal interpretation and procedure the Central Committee has taken steps within its own sphere of authority when determining dues, to take into consideration in the future, only the earnings due for legally prescribed hours of work.

In discussing the Party Rules we are discussing the most important laws of our internal Party life. The Central Committee is confident that the delegates will understand its motives, and the Congress will accept the proposals regarding the amendments of the Party Rules.

The mission of our Party is to serve the aspirations of the working class, its revolutionary aims, and the cause of the people. As the ideological and political leader of our society, as the organiser of the masses, our Party has fulfilled its mission since the Ninth Congress, and, with its work, it has earned the confidence and support of our working class, our people, and our international class brothers.

Our Party must continue to work in the future in such a way that its ideological, political and organisational unity, its contact with the masses, will continue to be strengthened. It is in this manner that our Party will be able to retain and increase the confidence it has earned in more than five decades of revolutionary struggle, with the heroic fights of generations of the communist movement, so much sacrifice, devoted work in the service of the Hungarian people, and which it enjoys to a greater extent than ever, and which is the main and inexhaustible source of its strength for the present and the future.

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Party Democracy and Socialist Democracy

Bela Biszku

We print below the speech made by Bela Biszku, member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee, at the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The sub-heads are ours.

The Congress guidelines of the Central Committee and the latter's verbal report submitted to Congress have dealt in a many-sided way with the importance and position of Party democracy and socialist democracy and with the tasks of their further development. While completely agreeing with the contents of the report, I wish to add a few thoughts on this question.

It is an important prerequisite of the further development of democracy in a correct and socialist manner, above all to interpret the class content of democracy, in a uniform and Marxist-Leninist way. There is no, there can be no, democracy that is independent of classes. We have to remember that only in socialism, only in our society can the original meaning of democracy, that is people's rule, be carried into effect. In our society and in conformity with our class policy, the principal aim of socialist democracy is that it should further strengthen—in the interest of the entire working people—the power of the working class, that the leading role of the working class and its Party should more effectively be implemented, that fruitful relationships between the working class and its allies should be further consolidated and that the public activities of the working masses supporting the Party should intensify. All the problems of democracy must be judged from this point of view.

It is the vital interest of our society that the social contradictions which still exist, and that will emerge in the future, should be solved in the spirit of progress. The struggle for this can only be guided by the Party, which stimulates, develops and organises socialist democracy.

Inner-Party Democracy

In socialist society, it is party democracy that guarantees the development of democracy in public life. We must take this as a starting point when examining the possibilities of further development and the tasks of socialist democracy. The building of a socialist society requires the active co-operation and active public participation of the working masses. The more people that take part as actively as possible in the determination and the implementation of our aims, the more people regard public affairs as their own, the stronger is our system.

Now where can workers make democratic decisions in the affairs of the factory, where can working peasants and agricultural labourers decide on any problem that arises on the farming estate or in the affairs of town or village? Only socialism can ensure creative participation in the decisions, of hundreds, nay, thousands and ten thousands of people, of Party members and non-Party people—of the masses. Promoting and continuously stimulating this, is among the fundamental political tasks of the Party. The Party can only fulfil this task if Party members are active in an exemplary fashion, if Party life radiates intensive political and social energy.

On the other hand, the maximum development of the inner democracy of Party life is an indispensable prerequisite for the activity of the Communists. The ever-growing creative participation of the popular masses in the building of socialism demands the development and the extension of democracy within the Party, of democracy in public life, and of socialist democracy. We consider, therefore, the many-sided extension of democracy as a law of the development of the building of socialism and one of the most important means of the complete building of the new society.

Contradictions Within Socialism

It would not be correct to consider the strengthening of Party democracy as exclusively the internal affair of the Party, to dissociate the issue from the general conditions and prerequisites of socialist construction. This is a most essential thing to understand for the leading Parties of the working class in power, and so for our own Party, too. For, according to the experience of history, the degree of development of democracy exerts a decisive influence on the working out and the implementation of Party policy. Irreconcilable class antagonism and class conflicts are things of

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the past in our country. However, the bringing into existence of classless society is a process that will take years and years. This is why differences of interest between allied classes and between the various strata of society exist and still exercise an influence.

We should like every man and woman and every community, when judging his, her or its interests, to keep in view the interests of society and give them priority. But this is not so simple in actual life. In politics, we have to take account of the fact, and have to recognise it, that there are group interests and individual interests that do not always automatically coincide with the interests of society as a whole. The task of the Party and socialist state is to disclose these differences of interests in order to prevent them from becoming insoluble clashes of interests. It is the duty of the Party and the socialist state to ensure that group and individual interests only prevail in harmony with the development of society. Advanced democracy greatly fosters the clarification and solution of contradictions within society. The more fully democracy prevails, the better are the possibilities for the social control of the processes of politics and of socialist construction, for the speedy exposure of mistakes and for the surmounting of difficulties, for the solution of problems.

Democracy and Centralism

It is well known that, in keeping with historic developments, the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat functions within the framework of the one-party system in our country. Far from facilitating the work of leadership in all respects, this situation even complicates it to some extent. Our Party must fulfil its leading role, it must determine the direction of society's progress, must initiate and stimulate socialist construction. It also devolves on the Party to control implementation, to give support to correct initiatives, to reveal shortcomings and contradictions produced by everyday life—and to give a correct answer to each of these problems. Hence, our Party is a governing party that must take upon itself the function of criticism, too. The Party can only fulfil this role by relying on the experiences of society, by constantly heeding the Party membership—and, through it, the public opinion of the whole country, by generalising conclusions and ensuring their implementation. It is primarily through socialist democracy that the experiences of the masses reach the leaders—as fully and multifariously as possible.

When dealing with the questions of democracy, one must never lose sight of the interconnections of democracy and centralism. Democracy must not be dissociated from centralism, nor must the two be set in opposition to each other; they constitute an inseparable entity and only through their interaction can they accomplish their function.

When speaking of the interrelations of democracy and centralism, one should start from the analogy of building work. When erecting a building, every worker and every working group has his or its own well-defined role, but the planning of the edifice as a whole, the carrying of measures into effect, has to be centrally controlled. Local autonomy wrongly interpreted, any contesting of central guidance, conjures up the peril of local despotism, while distorted over-centralisation kills the initiative of the local organs.

Democracy within the Party would lose its significance if it did not serve definite, actual purposes, such as the formulation and Leninist development of Party policy, the strengthening of Party unity and organisation, and the implementation of Party policy. Therefore, we are against any irresponsible or abstract interpretation of democracy. And as regards the democratic content of centralism, let me, first of all, point to the fact that not only central resolutions and decisions must be incorporated into the category of centralism, but also those of local Party organisations and even of Party branch organisations, or the resolutions of leading bodies of local state and social organs. So that democratic centralism ensures in our Party a unified, interrelated and well-geared system of guidance, which prevails from the Central Committee right down to the local organs, which is an indispensable part and stimulant of the activity of local bodies, of the development of local initiative, that is, of the democracy of political activity.

Development of Party Democracy

The Central Committee of our Party has always paid great attention to questions concerning the development of party democracy. Development has, however, created increased demands on our Party. In our country, we have laid the foundations of socialism and are continuing the work of socialist construction under new historical conditions. In order to enable the Party to meet increasing requirements, we necessarily had and still have to strive to increase the power of action and the creative energy of our organisations by perfecting party democracy. An important stage in this process was the instruction the Central Committee received from the 9th Congress of our Party—theoretically to seek new possibilities of developing party democracy and to shape their results into concrete decisions. It is thus that, after several years of preparatory work, in November 1969, the Central Committee made a comprehensive study of the situation of party democracy.

Examining this question theoretically and comparing it with practical experiences, we first of all

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started from the fact that serving the people, working for socialist construction requires the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and of the Party, and increasing the efficiency of leadership. It is a very important task of party guidance that it should ensure the application of a policy of principles and of the defence and development of that policy. In our policy we need permanence and renewal, ideological firmness and flexibility, constancy in the aims of socialism, in the development of relations with the masses, in the continuous improvement of living conditions.

We need renewal in creative replies given to new questions, firmness in our basic principles, flexibility and prudence in our methods. The purposeful management of this process is inconceivable if the democratic forms and methods assuring it are defective. The best guarantee for this is the regular development of party democracy which at all levels of leadership creates the collective leading bodies from the cream of the Party members, and strengthens the relations by means of which a constant contact can develop between the leadership and the membership, between the Party and the non-party workers.

Within the Party there must be a constant, organised internal movement which rapidly and correctly transmits the different conceptions of the leadership to the Party members and non-party workers on the one hand, and on the other hand, rapidly and exactly transmits the opinion and the observations of the majority of the communists and non-party workers. This continuous, two-way movement, I could say the political blood circulation of the Party, must never slow down or stop. It would be the same mistake if the observations and opinions of the Party members and non-party workers were not transmitted accurately. One of the greatest dangers is to represent what is only our wish as facts, or to believe what we wish has been accomplished. The best way to avoid this is to develop democracy. We believe that we have built up the most important forms and methods for the circulation of information between the masses and the leadership, the Party members and the central bodies, we only need to continue work on the development of the content and the level of the process.

Leading Role of the Party

In connection with strengthening the leading role of the Party and with the broadening of party democracy, the choice of the leaders and their formation and education is very important. In the spirit of Lenin's directives, we have endeavoured, in the past fifteen years, to take advantage of important historical experiences in the choice and training of leaders. An important trait of this is frankness towards the masses, even if, for the moment, it is a question of unpopular tasks, because in all questions we must represent their real interests.

Let us reckon with their opinion, let us be patient, because power does not belong to persons, but to the class. The person who is unable to represent public interests in a human way and with the esteem of his fellow-workers cannot be a good leader. During the past fifteen years, thousands of excellent leaders have developed and are working with good results in the different fields of life. At the same time, a task still to be realised is more systematically to include educated workers with experiences of public life in the collective leading bodies. A similar difficulty is the justified and necessary change of leaders in responsible party, state and social posts, in such a way that the stability of the political line should not be harmed by the change and that the public esteem of the leader performing good work should also be maintained. In the majority of cases, a change of leaders—if well done—may not be first of all a simple dismissal. The change must serve the development of the individual. And those who for reasons of age and health are leaving their place of work deserve special appreciation.

Experiences show that those leaders are working well, alongside whom leaders of similar capacities are being trained attaining a similar level in aptitude. At first hearing it may seem strange, but it still remains true, that those leaders work really successfully who create the conditions for their own replacement.

Problems of Leadership

It was not accidental that I spoke about leaders. This is an important political question. The tasks of management have become so complicated, that it is no longer enough to designate a single assistant. Every leader must make provisions that whatever may happen to him, work should go on smoothly. Not a single field of socialist construction should depend on the advancement or dismissal of a single man. We must stress this because even today there are still managers who do not like to work with talented, bright people. They are even worried if a colleague dares to argue with them or to contradict them. It is an important lesson, that for the complete building of socialism, able leaders are needed who represent well the cause of the working class, who dare to argue with higher authorities, but at the same time show a maximum of patience with equals and subordinates.

At the discussions preceding the Congress most of the criticisms were directed against the method of application of our policy. If our policy is correct—and this was well spoken of—everything depends on the implementation and on the leaders. From

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the Central Committee to the party branches, we must assure that leaders should function who understand our policy and are able to carry it out.

Life shows that in the choice of cadres we must better follow the requirements of democracy. That means that, before the appointment or the dismissal of someone, we must take the opinions of his immediate colleagues and subordinates into consideration. Unfortunately, we often experience that the description of the character of certain leaders does not always coincide with the actual results of their work and with the opinion of their colleagues. There is a saying: "You get to know a person when you live together". It would also be right to say: "You get to know a person when working together with him".

In this connection I should like to talk about another question: the relationship of the people in leading posts to the authority entrusted to them. There are well trained people who must not be given authority, because this goes to their heads, they lose their sense of reality and harm that which they have been entrusted with as well as themselves personally. The democracy of our cadre policy, which is an organic part of party democracy, helps us to examine better who should be given posts of authority. A leader must consider his own authority like a kind of medicine, which if taken excessively will act as a deadly poison.

The good leader is the one who refrains from this more than he likes it and who is immune to all the side-effects and dangers which accompany the smallest amount of authority. Of course, it is not the firmness and determination which is indispensable for the post of a leader, that he should be aware of. Nobody must fear that he will be suspected of abusing his authority if he takes an energetic and determined stand in the defence of a correct cause. To mistake the workers' power for one's own power, to act in one's own interest as against public interest, or conversely, not to make use of authority in the public interest—are equally faults. And we should add here that energy is not best expressed by a loud voice, and that rudeness and harshness are not simply a question of manners. In human relations, a cultured and attentive behaviour is required of leaders more than of anyone else.

Democratic Leadership

It has often been said that democratic methods of leadership do not prevail everywhere nor in the measure considered desirable by the Party. Is this unwillingness, conscious resistance? Probably there are such cases. But this is not the main cause, but much rather the fact that we believe it it much more difficult to direct by democratic means than by domineering. What is most important in the democratic method of leadership? It is the duty of the leaders to explain their viewpoint and the correctness of their decisions and by convincing arguments and proofs make this acceptable to their fellow workers. Of course, knowledge, thorough preparation and qualifications, are needed to support convincing arguments. The field of work and the task must be known in all its aspects. Competency, expertness and democratic methods of leadership are therefore interrelated.

The two do not replace, but complement each other and must form an organic unity. Where democratic leadership methods do not assert themselves satisfactorily, there the leaders are neither politically nor professionally nor in either aspect qualified. Leaders who are well qualified both politically and professionally and are cultured and competent, do not only allow the democratic discussion of problems, but actually encourage it so that the opposing opinions should also be expressed and are not desperate if their personal proposals are not accepted.

An extension of democratic methods of leadership does not carry with it a release from responsibility, it cannot be the cover for opportunistic and slack leadership. Discipline, the acceptance of responsibility, determination in the execution of our policy, party democracy and socialist democracy are—in our social and state life—concepts that go together, that complete each other. This spirit must be introduced everywhere so that the Leninist methods of leadership should prevail.

Socialist Democracy and Economic Management

The introduction of the new system of economic management likewise had a favourable effect on the development of socialist democracy. Tens of thousands of competent people took part in the elaboration of the principles of the economic reform and hundreds of thousands participated in the discussions of the projects. In this way, those who today are working on the realisation of the reform, were there at its inception and contributed their experiences and ideas. These democratic preliminaries have played an important role in ensuring that the great majority of our society approves the present economic management system and supports it with their work. The economic reform has considerably increased the independence of the local bodies, the economic units and of the leaders; it has extended their range of decision. This in itself advances the development of socialist democracy. Another no less important feature is that more and more of the leaders have come to realise that it is only by relying on their fellow workers, on the collective, on the working people and listening to and weighing their proposals that

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they can take the correct decisions. If anywhere we experience passivity, we should not complain, but look for the faults in ourselves.

Qualifications have an increasing role in the management of the economy. Economic laws are of a determining character, but our economic leaders must never forget that they are working under socialist social conditions. They must also keep in view the fact that these economic laws serve the socialist economy and the building of a socialist society. That is why there can be no economic work and management free of politics. A qualified leadership can only be fruitful if it is accompanied by the increasing activity of the workers. That is why the development of workshop democracy is an outstanding task. The basis for the success of workshop democracy and its starting point is the democracy of the workshop Party organisations. Where party democracy is asserting itself more fully, workshop democracy is also more effective.

Socialist Democracy and Dictatorship of the Proletariat

As I mentioned already in the introduction, there is an integral connection and interaction between party democracy and socialist democracy. Consequently, an examination of the position of party democracy has also been necessitated by the fact that the Central Committee has put the continued development of state life, of socialist democracy, on the order of the day. This is also something that we have to regard from the point of view of our class policy. Socialist democracy is an organic part of the power of the working class, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, hence it is the democracy of the working people. Socialist democracy serves the aims of the working class, the cause of the people, it strengthens the workers' state, and makes the building of a socialist society more successful through the political activity of the masses of the people.

The unequivocal interpretation of the class content of socialist society is no mere abstract theory, but a political question of fundamental importance. Therefore, in this respect all misunderstandings and wrong views have to be dispelled.

Those who contrast socialist democracy with the dictatorship of the proletariat and conceive it as a factor separated from the dictatorship of the proletariat, as something that "takes over", or "substitutes", the earlier functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, completely misunderstand the essence and functions of socialist democracy.

There are some people who, representing right-wing, revisionist views, give way to such an approach and, under the pretext of socialist democracy, urge the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are, on the other hand, also pseudo-leftist views, whose supporters, under the pretext of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat, are worried about the development of socialist democracy, in other words, they fear that it may harm the dictatorship of the proletariat, who oppose the extension of socialist democracy allegedly to safeguard the proletarian state and class policy.

But posing the question in this way, saying that "either the dictatorship of the proletariat or socialist democracy", is theoretically and politically wrong, whether it is raised from a right-wing or "left-wing" position. The experience of our Party also proves that the full development of socialist democracy serves the strengthening and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. When in the early fifties, socialist democracy was infringed in our country, at that time our system, our power, the dictatorship of the proletariat was weakened and jeopardised.

Against Bureaucracy

The report of the Central Committee in accordance with its significance—particularly emphasised the development of state life, of socialist democracy.

I agree with the contents of the report. I should like to add, however, that when the examination of these questions was made in our Party, we were guided by the intention—and the same intention is guiding us today—that our people's State, the Hungarian People's Republic and its executive bodies should fulfil their mission still better, that they should help even more effectively in the development of socialist society. Our starting point was the recognition that our society will for a long time remain in that stage of development where state responsibilities are carried out by the state bodies and these tasks cannot be relegated to social organisations.

Our Party has been studying these problems intensively and with proper circumspection for several years, inviting the co-operation of social scientists and of scientific institutions as well as the assistance of Party, social and state executives. We are searching for possibilities to draw the largest possible number of working people into the management and control of state affairs. We are also investigating by what means we can work still more successfully to overcome bureaucracy, still abundantly in existence and hampering our social development. In this context we have to give a broader interpretation to the struggle against bureaucracy because, unfortunately, it not only exists in state bodies, but in fact exists and is being reproduced in the social bodies as well. Mere promises and declarations have not proved—and will never prove—sufficient for stopping bureaucracy.

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Some people believe that the best means of eliminating, or at least significantly reducing bureaucracy, would be by radical cuts in the state apparatus. To tell the truth, the state apparatus could be smaller than it is at present—at the same time, however, it could be better qualified and better paid. In practice, however, it is not simple to carry through a significant reduction in numbers, and any overhasty or rash step might cause disturbances. In fact, at present this method would impair rather than improve the work of our state organs.

The development of State administrative work, the further regulation of the relations between the Party and State, and the improvement of Party control over State activities are now being worked out. It is important that we should deal with care and circumspection with all these tasks, because they are important elements in the cause of the working people and the working class.

As the report has pointed out, the state of our working people, the Hungarian People's Republic, fulfils its mission. But we also know what great reserves are latent in improving the efficiency of government work. We believe that this improvement does not take place from one year to the next, and in this case the Hungarian proverb "Measure seven times before you cut once" is doubly true.

Democracy and Building Socialism

I believe that the foregoing will clarify the aims followed by the Party when it devotes great theoretical and practical attention to the problems of the development of Party and of socialist democracy.

With the decisions that are to be passed by the Tenth Congress, our Party commits itself to the fulfilment of further significant tasks. I am likewise certain that the vast majority of our working people are willing, together with the Party, to shoulder those responsibilities which we characterise as work on a higher level serving the completion of the building of a socialist society. The activities of our Party must comply with these higher demands.

In our Party organisations and in our society we have to discover new energies which will help us to cope well, even with these ambitious and complex tasks. An important source of this energy is socialist democracy which helps us to draw fresh forces of society into our struggle, which opens the gates wider to the talents of the working people, to their creative ideas and constructive deeds. We cannot do without this extra energy. It is our conviction that the results achieved in the further unfolding of socialist democracy make this source even more fruitful and in this way contribute to our approaching more closely the realisation of the common aims of the Party and the people, the complete building of socialism.

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Labour History:

The Forerunners of the First International—The Fraternal Democrats

Mary Davis

The era of the Chartists is universally recognised by students of the Labour Movement as one of crucial importance in understanding the development of the post-industrial working-class. The active years of the movement, from 1838 (the year of the publication of the six-point charter) to the early 1850's, witnessed not only a tremendous growth of working-class consciousness and militancy, but also an ideological re-awakening which bore a distinctly socialist and revolutionary character. It is an aspect of this latter trend (which, in our view has been sadly neglected), that we wish to examine; namely the formulation during this period of a new and vitally important theory, that of Proletarian Internationalism.

A New Type of Internationalism

Ideas and aspirations of internationalism were not unknown to the British Labour Movement before the Chartist period, however. Indeed the particular form of internationalism we seek to describe owed much to the chequered manifestation of the international ideal in various forms in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, from the existence of the Corresponding Societies at the time of the French Revolution onwards. Nevertheless, the form of internationalism that we are concerned with, whilst owing much to earlier trends, represents a distinct break with the previous largely radical cosmopolitan tradition. The new internationalism of the Chartist period was rooted basically in the recognition of class and class antagonisms, emerging as it did as a distinctly proletarian expression of the conflict of interests between the two classes into which society is divided.

Once the working-class displayed an active and conscious recognition of the irreconcilability of their interests with those who owned and controlled the means of production on which they were dependent (a recognition greatly facilitated by the all too apparent harshness of wage slavery and industrial life of the time), then internationalism had to acquire a new meaning and a new significance. Earlier forms of internationalism recognised the existence of "tyrants" and "oppressors" whose interests were not the same as the rest of humanity, but saw the struggle, albeit on an international scale, between the former and the latter, rather than in class terms. Since the internationalist legacy of the earlier fighters for democracy (men like Paine, Lafayette, etc.), was largely continued by the middle-class radicals in the mid-nineteenth century, they retained this latter concept of internationalism which ignored the class nature of society in strict contrast to what we shall now define as proletarian internationalism.

The major differentiating characteristic of proletarian internationalism from other forms is, that although it recognises that national boundaries obscure the common interests of mankind, it stresses the class nature of these interests. Hence it makes its appeal directly to the working classes of all countries (rather than to "humanity" or "fellow men" as the bourgeois internationalists did), in an attempt to "point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independent of all nationality".[1] These "common interests of the entire proletariat" consisted basically in ending the present economic

[1] Marx and Engels "The Communist Manifesto".

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and political system which denied them access to the "full fruits of their labour" and at the same time denied them any participation in the process of making the decisions which were to affect their lives.

It was only by the overthrow of such systems, and with them all the antagonisms, that the great internationalist ideal of universal brotherhood, which supposedly everyone in a "Christian" society paid lip-service to, could be achieved. Meanwhile the working classes of all nations must work to precipitate their own liberation, to overcome their own national prejudices and, at the same time, to demonstrate their solidarity with proletarians everywhere who were struggling against the system which oppressed them all.

This formulation, representing as it did in the early Victorian era, a totally new concept of internationalism, is commonly associated with the First International; but this latter group, although a propagator was not the originator of the doctrine: it is not merely pedantry or academicism which prompts us to point this out, rather a desire to understand fully the significant trends at work in shaping the post-industrial labour movement in Britain. For it is our contention that the direct predecessor of the First International is to be found in England in the Chartist era in the form of a group founded in London in 1845 and calling itself the Society of Fraternal Democrats.

We contend that this group, numbering as it did several leading Chartists among its members, was the first organised international group to raise the banner of international proletarian solidarity, before even the First International.[2] It is in the light of this conviction that we wish to make a short study of the Fraternal Democrats; to examine the way in which their perspective conformed to the ideals of proletarian internationalism and how they gave organised expression to it.

George Julian Harney

The main force behind the Society of Fraternal Democrats from its creation in 1845 until its demise in 1852 was George Julian Harney, a leading "left-wing" Chartist. From his youth, connected as he was with the fight against "taxes on knowledge" (selling Henry Hetherington's "Poor Man's Guardian"), his contacts with advanced democrats like Bronterre O'Brien[3] and his early association with the revolutionary foreign emigrés domiciled in London,[4] Harney's mind was especially receptive to socialist and revolutionary ideas.

The influences on him were many and varied, ranging from the conspiratorial communism of Babeuf, the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels to the numerous brands of revolutionary thought propagated by the foreign emigrés of all nationalities with whom he later came into close contact. We shall not here attempt to estimate Harney's own political position in any detail. He was criticised by Marx and Engels for the fact that he appeared to be undiscriminating in the way in which he embraced revolutionary theories of all types simply because they attacked capitalism and championed the cause of the working class struggle and more important he was a leading advocate and populariser of the theory of proletarian internationalism

Harney was sub-editor and later editor of the Chartist newspaper *The Northern Star*. He made full use of this important position to propagate his stated aim of counteracting what he felt to be the insularity of the Chartist movement by making "the English Democrat aware of the part that was being played by his brethren on the different stages of the political world"[5]. It was thus that under Harney's influence more stress was given to the reportage of foreign affairs in the columns of *The Northern Star*, and these reports were no longer "the conventional summaries of the London press with a radical twist, but there was now a real sense of involvement with the struggles of other countries".[6] So successful was Harney, in his aim of propagating internationalism through *The Northern Star* that it has been asserted that under his editorship the paper became the first mass propaganda organ for the idea of international proletarian solidarity[7].

[2] Notions of proletarian internationalism had been expressed by various working-class groups before the foundation of the Fraternal Democrats, but none of them had been specifically constituted for the purpose and they advocated internationalism only spasmodically as a corollary to their activities. This was not the case with the Fraternal Democrats.

[3] Bronterre O'Brien was an important theoretician and widely known as "the schoolmaster of Chartism".

[4] Especially with the left wing of the Polish emigration, exiled after the 1830 Revolution. With men like Worcell ("the father of Polish Socialism"), Stolzman and Oborski.

[5] Harney, 1844, quoted in A. R. Schoyen *The Chartist Challenge*, 1958.

[6] J. Saville, introduction to the Merlin Press reprint of Harney's *Red Republican*, 1966, p. 7.

[7] Cf. J. Braunthal, *History of the International 1864-1914*, London, 1966 who describes the "Northern Star" under Harney's editorship as a "poweful means of propaganda for the idea of international working class solidarity", p. 66. Also Schoyen op. cit. asserts the paper had "a unique claim to having been the first mass-circulating organ of the international socialist movement in England".

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London Emigrés

In 1844 *The Northern Star* moved its headquarters to London. By this time the already existing London emigré community, composed mainly of Europeans who had been exiled by their respective governments after the 1830 revolutions on the continent, had been reinforced by the arrival of other revolutionaries, the most notable of whom, Schapper and Bauer (from Germany) and Nemeth (from Hungary), had taken part in Blanqui's abortive rising in France in 1839. The various nationalities had already formed themselves into separate groups—the German Workers' Education Society, the French Democratic Society, the Polish Democratic Society (which had split from the conservative faction led by Czartoryski in 1822), and others not so well organised, like the Hungarians.

Within the ranks of these groups were some of the most militant European revolutionaries and foremost socialists. Harney immediately showed sympathy to them and their causes by throwing open the columns of *The Northern Star* to advertise and report their meetings. The emigrés themselves were enthusiastic to see the establishment of closer links with the British Labour Movement through some kind of international organisation which would serve to keep alive and propagandise their own national struggles as well as attempt to establish international working class solidarity. Some of the emigrés, notably Schapper and Bauer (and probably others too), had already participated in an international organisation—the short-lived League of the Just (*Bund der Gerechten*), founded in Paris in 1836. Whether the League can properly be called an international proletarian organisation however, was questioned by Marx and Engels, who saw it more in terms of a conspiratorial club patronised by a small group of revolutionary communists[8]

Besides this, the emigré groups in London had already displayed their "internationalist spirit" by their initial participation in the "Democratic Friends of All Nations", a group launched by the radical, William Lovett. This group has claims to having been the first international (in composition) political society in London, but it was certainly not proletarian, indeed the basis of its support came from the middle-class radicals and the group's politics was shaped accordingly. The emigrés withdrew from the Democratic Friends shortly after the publication of its first address, which condemned armed uprisings and violent revolutions (in accordance with Lovett's well-known "moral force" philosophy). The society itself collapsed eight months afterwards. Its collapse was followed, in 1845, by the formation of the Society of Fraternal Democrats.

The Formation of the Society

The basis for such a progression existed not only, as we have seen, among the emigré groups, but within the ranks of the British working-class itself, with its own political party (the first proletarian political party in the whole of Europe). The militancy and revolutionary combativeness of the British working class during the Chartist era is now almost legendary. Its determination to fight the capitalist order is comparable only with the bourgeoisie's determination to protect property.

If the working class was receptive to ideas of socialism and internationalism in the first half of the nineteenth century (as indeed it was), it was as much due to its experience of naked confrontation with the ruling order (as in, for example, the Poor Law agitation, the factory reform campaign, the revolutionary outbreaks of 1839 or the near general strike of 1842), as to the invaluable propaganda work of men like Harney and later Jones and other "left-wingers" in the Chartist Party. The advent of the Chartist Party represented a very important new move in the development of class consciousness. For over a decade it organised and commanded the loyalty of large numbers of workers throughout the country in a way and on a scale that had never been known before.

Chartism, if left solely to its leader, Feargus O'Connor, would have remained a very insular affair, but, as we have seen other forces were at work in trying to inject the spirit of international proletarian solidarity into the movement. Testimony to the success of these moves was seen in a small but symbolic way in September 1844, when the German Worker's Education Society along with the French Democrats and a mélange of English Democrats convened a meeting to welcome the revolutionary communist, Wilhelm Weitling, to London.

This meeting was very significant, firstly because British workers attended in large numbers, and, secondly, because it was probably the first political meeting at which workers from different

[8] Engels maintained in his *History of the German Communist Movement* that the German Workers Educational Societies established in London and other large cities in the 1840's, represented an attempt to gather the broken threads of the now almost defunct League of the Just. His account, written from memory several years later, has been questioned by a Soviet historian, D. Ryazanoff (in "The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels"), who asserts that no trace of the League can be found after 1840; that its headquarters were not transferred to London as Engels suggests and that the educational societies existed as autonomous units, and were not, despite their disingenuous names, cover organisations for any extraneous body.

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countries spoke from the same platform.[9] The scene was set for the Fraternal Democrats, formed precisely one year later in September 1845.

In respect of the propagation of the ideals of proletarian internationalism, the Fraternal Democrats and the First International had the same aims. The main difference between the two organisations lay in the fact that the former was primarily a propagandist body, whereas the latter attempted to combine propaganda and mass agitation. Thus the major part of the activity of the Fraternal Democrats was expended, not in organising demonstrations, but in holding meetings and writing addresses in an attempt to make its aims and principles as widely known as possible. Harney regarded this type of work as essential since he considered that the ignorance which prevailed, even among Democrats about affairs in other countries (due largely to the biased reporting of the bourgeois press), produced a situation whereby democrats of all countries "have been ignorant of each other's progress and . . . have often acted sectionally or in opposition to each other".[10]

Role of the Working Class

So, from the outset the society was concerned, through its propaganda, to counteract the perversions of ruling class ideology in order, according to the principles and rules of the society, "to extinguish national hatred, to remove national prejudices, and to propagate the great principle that all men are brothers.[11] As with the First International, this call for international unity and brotherhood was not made to all mankind—it was specifically directed to the working classes of all nations in order that they should not betray their common interests by fighting among themselves, but rather against the ruling order. The ruling order had long achieved *its* international unity (especially seen after 1815 in the Holy Alliance and Congress system) and thus it was futile to talk of internationalism for any class but the working class.

Other preceding internationalist groups had recognised this much, *i.e.* that the international working class had common interests, but it was left to the Fraternal Democrats to proceed a stage further in acknowledging this class interest in practical terms by advocating the revolutionary role of the working class as the vehicle of complete social transformation the world over. The society in its principles and rules openly declared that its "social creed" was one of opposition to "the present state of society, which permits idlers and schemers to monopolise the fruits of the earth and the productions of industry, and compels the working classes to labour for inadequate rewards and even condemns them to social slavery, destitution and degradation", whereas in truth, "the earth and all its products is the common property of all".[12] The other sections of this document, namely the "moral" and "political" principles, could have been accepted by most radicals.

The political creed consisted of the traditional democratic demand—"Governments elected by and responsible to the entire people", and the "moral creed", namely "to receive our fellow men without regard to country as members of one family, the human race".[13] The moral creed was equally acceptable and humanitarian, consisting of a declaration that the Society would accept its fellow men "without regard to country as members of one family, the human race".[14] Thus it was the Society's anti-capitalist class consciousness embodied in its social creed which distinguishes it from other groups and establishes its importance in the history of the socialist movement.

Meetings and Propaganda

The bulk of the activity of the Fraternal Democrats was concerned with meetings and propaganda, mainly in the form of addresses and declarations. All revolutionary struggles abroad were occasions for the society to hold banquets or meetings or put out addresses or manifestos. Each address and meeting was adapted to the particular event for which it was written in a way which spread knowledge of certain elementary facts of the country in question and the character of the struggle waged therein.[15] Even so, the theoretical perspective of the Society did not allow it merely to describe struggles abroad in a narrow and uncritical fashion. Rather an attempt was made at analysis. In conducting this analysis certain features emerged which were not only characteristic of the work of the Fraternal Democrats,

[9] A. Lehning points this out-vide: "The International Association 1855-1859", International Review of Social History, Vol. 3, 1938.

[10] From Harney's speech at the meeting to commemorate the first anniversary of the Fraternal Democrats—*Northern Star*, 26th September, 1846.

[11] *Northern Star*, 26th September, 1846.

[12] Principles and Rules, adopted 13th December 1847—*The Fraternal Democrats*, B. M. Catalogue 1857—e—4(33).

[13] *ibid.*

[14] *ibid.*

[15] B. G. Ivany: "The Working Classes of Britain and the Eastern European Revolution (1848)" *Slavonic Review XXVI*, considers this aspect of the educative nature of the Society's propaganda to be one of its most important contributions.

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but of all subsequent organisations espousing the cause of proletarian internationalism.

In the first place one may note the attitude of the Fraternal Democrats to nationalist movements. In general sympathy was shown to the national causes of small nations struggling for independence, provided they helped the cause of the oppressed and did not seek to substitute a national tyranny in place of a foreign one. The assertion of nationalism was considered to be a necessary stage in the struggles of oppressed peoples—but it was *only* a stage and should not overshadow the class struggle and the necessity for complete social transformation. The best illustration of this attitude is to be found in connection with the nationalist movements in Poland and Italy.

The Polish Cause

The agitation on behalf of the Polish cause[16] was, perhaps, one of the high spots of the activity of the Fraternal Democrats. At the end of February 1846 the Cracow rising occurred, and in March the victors, represented by their provisional government, published the famous Cracow Manifesto. This Manifesto was widely acclaimed by Democrats throughout Europe, not least in England where, in March, a public meeting was held, attended by representatives of many different nationalities, to discuss the Polish question. The Cracow Manifesto was important not only because it was a very "Socialistic" document, proclaiming the abolition of class distinctions, but also because, in common with the ideology of the Fraternal Democrats, it did not regard the achievement of national independence as an end in itself. Harney's resolution on this occasion captured the spirit of the Manifesto:

> "While demanding the complete restoration of the nationality and independence of Poland, this meeting regards the accompanying reformation in Polish Society to be indispensible"[17].

The meeting of March 1846 witnessed the formation of a group specifically constituted to propagate the Polish cause—the Democratic Committee for the Regeneration of Poland, whose object was "to aid the Polish patriots in their efforts to establish the independence of their country and the equal political and social rights of all classes of the Polish people".[18]

The Society of Polish Emigrants, led by the anti-Socialist aristocrat Czartoryski, had long been alarmed at the kind of democratic support being given to the Polish cause. Czartoryski had cause for alarm. The Fraternal Democrats, but Harney especially, had long ago expressed contempt for this kind of movement which was concerned with nationalism and nothing more.

Harney and others had blamed the equivocal behaviour of the Polish aristocracy for the failure of the 1830 revolution. He asserted the "aristocracy hated the Russian despotism; but much more hated the idea of having the Polish people for their masters, and so they contrived to ruin the revolution".[19] Furthermore, at a meeting in December 1845, Harney had proposed a resolution which "recognised the Democratic Polish Immigrants" (the Oborski's group) "as the only true and veritable representatives of Poland and the cause of Polish liberty" . . . because they acknowledge "the just claims of the working classes".[20]

It is no wonder that when the Fraternal Democrat-inspired agitation of 1846 took place, Czartoryski could no longer contain himself, and produced a manifesto warning against "sundry and fantastic State theories". Harney lost no time in replying to this in an article in which he explained "tyranny is tyranny all the world over, and if the mass of the people are trampled on it matters little whether their tyrants are Poles or Russians".[21]

Attitude to Mazzini

Thus, the views of the Fraternal Democrats on struggles for national liberation were certainly unacceptable to anti-Socialists, particularly to the Czartoryski-led Poles, but also to the Italian emigration led by Mazzini. These Italians repudiated the whole conception of proletarian internationalism propounded by the Fraternal Democrats. It may well be that some of them did so for fear that participation in the activities of the "subversive" Fraternal Democrats, which was certainly an anathema to the Establishment, might entail reprisals from the British Government in the form of a curtailment of financial aid on which many of the refugees were dependent. Whatever the motives of the rank-and-file in repudiating the Fraternal Democrats, Mazzini's open super-nationalist and anti-Socialist views, led him inevitably into confrontation with the Society. Indeed this doctrinal disagreement was one of the reasons for the formation of a separate internationalist organisation in April 1847, known

[16] Poland at this time was a tri-partite state, controlled by Russia, Austria and Prussia.
[17] *Northern Star*, 28th March, 1846.
[18] *Northern Star*, 6th June, 1846.
[19] From Harney's speech at the London Democratic Supper, 6th November, 1845, reported in the *Northern Star*, 15th November, 1845.
[20] *ibid.*, 13th December, 1845.
[21] *Northern Star*, 13th December, 1845.

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as The People's International League. The League, according to Linton, its Secretary, was formed at the instigation of Mazzini. It was primarily middle-class in composition and concerned itself solely with the question of national self-determination.[22]

Harney and the Fraternal Democrats had nothing but contempt for such an organisation. They were not mystified by the popular liberal adulation for independent America, whose formal democratic constitution was held up by them as a beacon for all those struggling to be free. Rather the Society was quick to point out that national independence and formal political equality (the PIL creed), had done little to close the gap between wealth and poverty in America and that in fact the so-called free-born man of this much-lauded country was, despite his paper democratic rights, reduced to the same level of degradation as the oppressed classes of Europe living under foreign domination. Events in Italy in this period, hailed by liberals and the PIL as evidence of the onward march of progress and democracy, were regarded by the Fraternal Democrats in the same critical fashion.

A Manifesto written by Jones, Harney and Schapper on "Present Movements in Europe" stated quite unequivocally with reference to Italy that "we confess we do not share in the expectations apparently entertained by shallow-minded observers of passing events, who anticipated that Charles Albert of Sardinia or Leopold of Tuscany is likely to act as a champion of Italian freedom. . . . The substitution of an *independent* Italian despotism in the place of Austrian domination would be but poor compensation for all the sacrifices which a struggle for such independence must entail"[23]—virtually the same sentiments as those expressed with regard to the Polish question, but in this case a good deal more brave and controversial, since Mazzini was an immensely popular figure in England especially among the middle-classes but also in Government circles (viz. Palmerston and Russell).

Just and Unjust Wars

Another feature of the work of the Fraternal Democrats was the way in which they articulated the concept of just and unjust war. Briefly, the just war was considered as one in which a strong nation like Britain intervened to help an oppressed nation struggling against foreign tyranny. The unjust war was the conventional type of war in which two nations engaged in battle for the defence or acquisition of territory. This concept besides smacking somewhat of wishful thinking, was also not original—many radicals held the same view.

In accordance with this standpoint the Fraternal Democrats inveighed against the handling of the Oregon question by the American and British governments. The society's propaganda was directed to the working class of America and pointed out that a war over Oregon was certainly not in their interest, for besides adding to their burdens through increased taxation, "it might probably afford a pretext for your government curtailing your scant liberties . . . and would indefinitely postpone your political emancipation".[24] Later during the war between Mexico and the United States, the Fraternal Democrats sent another address to the American working class condemning the war as "a war for the extension of slavery"[25] for which the workers would have to pay with their money and with their blood. The French war scare, manufactured by the British Government at various intervals during the decade, was denounced by the Society in the same spirit in the form of a resolution declaring that "the outcry respecting the "National Defence" is got up by those who have an interest in perpetuating the present unjust, plundering and murdering system".[26]

International Solidarity

On the other hand the Fraternal Democrats forcefully promulgated the concept of the "just" war in defence of oppressed peoples struggling for their rights. This was formulated most clearly over the Polish question, especially at the time of the annexation of Cracow by Austria, when the Society demanded British intervention with force of arms to restore Cracow to her natural boundaries. There was a good case here, even on government terms, since the Austrian annexation was clearly a violation of the Treaty of Vienna, to which the British Government was a signatory. Naturally, those who proposed such a scheme were aware that the Government would take no such action; nevertheless it was a good propaganda device, not only because it publicised the Polish cause, but also because it served to expose the middle-class "so-called Friends of Poland" who, like Hume, always stopped short of active commitment.

Probably one of the most important aspects

[22] The aim of the PIL according to its constitution was to "manifest an efficient public opinion in favour of the right of every people to self-government and the maintenance of their own nationality", *People's Journal*, 10th April, 1847.

[23] *Northern Star*, 2nd October, 1847.

[24] *Northern Star*, 7th March, 1846.

[25] *Ibid.*, 11th July, 1846.

[26] *Ibid.*, 5th February, 1846.

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of the work of the Fraternal Democrats was their concern to demonstrate the international interrelationship of working class struggles throughout the world. This entailed showing Englishmen that because the working class of all countries had the same interests, then any defeat sustained by a foreign movement was a blow at the whole international movement. Harney, encouraged by gradual signs of response to this view, summarised it in a memorable speech. He noted that "the people are beginning to realise that foreign as well as domestic questions do affect them, that a blow struck at liberty on the Tagus is an injury to the friends of freedom on the Thames . . ."[27] for ". . . the Rights of Man are universal—as universal as should be the determination to defend them".[28]

The society itself in its own composition bore practical witness, on a small scale, to the prospect of international working class unity and solidarity, for the society was really international in theory and practice. Various nationalities were affiliated to the Fraternal Democrats and, from 1847, each affiliated nationality appointed a general secretary, who in turn appointed a corresponding secretary. The general secretaries and an additional representative from each nationality formed the committee of the Fraternal Democrats. This form of organisation was to constitute the model for the First International.

The most effective way of demonstrating proletarian solidarity would be to call an international workers congress, like the First International did later. Here again the Society established a precedent which the latter organisation was to follow. Marx and Engels had shown much enthusiasm for the work of the Fraternal Democrats and, in 1846, with the support of Harney and others, they established the Communist Corresponding Society in Brussels (later known as the Communist League for which the "Communist Manifesto" was written). At the same time the rival internationalism of the bourgeoisie was reaching its climax with the convening of an International Free Trade Congress in Brussels in 1847. This was seen by proletarian Internationalists as a deliberate attempt to take the wind out of the sails of their movement.

In England the Repeal of the Corn Laws ensured that Free Trade was now the orthodoxy, and as such it masqueraded from time to time in an international guise in attempts to convince the working class that the interests of the international bourgeoisie were the same as the international proletariat—both wanted peace and prosperity; only free trade and pacifism could ensure this, not war and class struggle.

This occurrence precipitated the necessity of a closer bond between working class internationalists, and so, in September 1847, an appeal was launched to all democrats inviting them to support a proposed international congress of democracy as a counter-stroke to the Free Trade Congress. The idea met with widespread approval in Brussels and London. Marx and Engels came to London to discuss the proposal. The events of 1848 intervened to prevent the Congress from being held, but the fact that it was mooted was of immense significance for the development of proletarian internationalism.

This would have been the first time an international congress of the working class had ever been held, let alone one whose frame of reference was Socialist. Eighteen years later it was the First International which was to complete the task which the internationalists of the 1840's had set themselves.

British Support for the Society

How much popular support was there among the British working class for the principles of the Fraternal Democrats? This is fairly difficult to estimate, for although the society was organised on a membership basis, membership remained small primarily because there was little attempt, or desire, to build a mass based society. The propagandist and educational side of the society was seen not so much as a means of inducing people to declare their allegiance to an organisation, rather to the principles of that organisation; principles which they should then carry into the real mass-based organisation of the working class—the Chartist Party.

Having said this, however, there were two occasions on which popular support for proletarian internationalism was clearly manifested. The first occasion was the Polish Revolt of 1846, and the second the European Revolution of 1848-9.

The Fraternal Democrats were not slow to capitalise on popular radical Russophobia in their advocacy of the Polish cause. The Democratic Committee for Poland's Regeneration was formed; a militant body demanding such things as armed intervention in support of the Polish Revolution, in spite of the fact that such moderates as Linton and O'Connor were members of the committee. Effectively this committee was but a sub-group of the Fraternal Democrats, Harney, its secretary, writing all the addresses, and the

[27] *Northern Star*, 19th June, 1847.

[28] From Harney's Election Address to the electors and non-electors of Tiverton, *Northern Star*, 4th December, 1847.

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tone of these addresses was unquestionably socialistic.

It was this body which led the Polish agitation and dictated its tone; the moderates had to accept this. It is impossible to say how many Chartists were active in the Polish agitation, presumably quite a number since the committee established roots in about thirty localities in the space of six months. Alongside this, Fraternal Democrat groups mushroomed in twenty towns scattered throughout the country by 1847. This would suggest a growing acceptance of proletarian internationalism, which was also attested by the fact that three members of the Chartist executive became active members of the Society at this time.

European Revolution of 1848-9

Popular support for proletarian internationalism was again manifested during the European revolutions of 1848-9. The Society, as early as 1847, perceived that important events were about to take place in Europe, and diligently sought to generate an atmosphere of solidarity. *The Northern Star,* under Harney's editorship, played an important role in achieving this. Fraternal Democrat meetings held at this time were always packed to capacity. It was at their monthly meeting that news of the final abdication of Louis Phillipe in France arrived. Frost, who was present at the time, described the occasion:

> "Suddenly the news of the events in Paris was brought in. The effect was electrical. Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, Magyars sprang to their feet, embraced, shouted and gesticulated in the wildest of enthusiasm . . . the whole assemblage descended to the street, and, with linked arms and colours flying, marched to the meeting place of the Westminster Chartists"[29].

Frost also described how Chartists from his own area (Croydon) greeted the news. It is worth quoting him as giving some indication of the prevalent mood:

> " 'Glorious news!' I exclaimed, 'Louis Phillipe has fled and the revolution is complete'.
>
> 'Hurrah!' cried an enthusiastic artisan, inspired by the thought of the influence which the revolution of 1830 had in accelerating the march of parliamentary reform, 'now we shall have our rights' "[30].

There are many other examples of this kind of sentiment, one other in particular is worth noting. This was the action of a non-Chartist body (though it undoubtedly contained many Chartists within its ranks), the National Association of United Trades, which, along with many other bodies, sent a congratulatory address to the French Provisional Government established after the downfall of the monarchy.

Their address is particularly significant because it was a virtual microcosm of the policy of the Fraternal Democrats. It started by congratulating the Citizens of France in achieving the overthrowal of "tyranny" and hailed this as "the harbinger and advent of our own deliverance". For the British working-class is struggling in the same cause "to secure fulfilment of the first and highest law of humanity—that he who produces shall be the first to enjoy".[31]

The Fraternal Democrats and Chartism

England was not immune from the revolutionary upsurges of 1848. Events in Europe had a profound effect in inspiring a re-awakening of Chartist activity, leading to the great Kennington Common meeting of 10th April, 1848, which was attended by about 100,000 people, despite government repression and intimidation. Many revolutionary outbreaks occurred in England at this time especially in the industrial north, and this was coupled with a distinct swing to the left in the Chartist movement itself, culminating in the formal adoption of a socialist programme in the Convention of 1851. This represented a total rejection of the parochialism and isolationism of the old Chartist leaders like O'Connor, and as such it signified a tribute to the work of the Fraternal Democrats and a popular acceptance of their formulation of internationalism.

In many ways the fortunes of the Fraternal Democrats were linked with those of the Chartist Movement. It is almost a *sine qua non* that the periods of the most vocal acceptance of proletarian internationalism by the working class should correspond with the periods of the greatest revolutionary activity when subjective class consciousness becomes objectified and activated. But this is not to say that internationalism is automatically shunned in the absence of a revolutionary situation. The continued acceptance of proletarian internationalism after the demise of the Fraternal Democrats during the "quiet years" of the 1850's and then the ready acceptance of the First International by trade union leaders in 1864, would certainly belie such a hypothesis. Furthermore, apathy regarding working class politics was not necessarily concomitant with lack of enthusiasm for the international ideal, as the great Polish agitation of 1846 clearly showed. In any

[29] Thomas Frost, *Forty Years Recollections*, p. 128.
[30] Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.
[31] Address of the NAUT, published in *Northern Star*, 11th March, 1848.

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event, decline of participation in working class politics should have mattered much less to a propagandist body like the Fraternal Democrats than to a party of action like the Chartists. What then are the reasons for the decline of the Fraternal Democrats? Clearly they are not to be found by adducing any mechanical inter-relationship with the peaks and troughs of revolutionary activity. This inter-relationship cannot be totally dismissed, but can only be seen as one of a multiplicity of factors.

Why the Decline of the Society?

The events of 1848 in England provoked an almost hysterical reaction by the government. Governmental retaliation came in the form of a number of stern measures designed to crush any further manifestation of revolutionary class-consciousness by word or deed. Thus Martial Law was proclaimed, and the Gagging Act and the Aliens Act were passed. The Gagging Act imposed a penalty of seven years transportation for anyone convicted of uttering "seditious speeches", while the Aliens Act gave the Home Secretary (Grey) a free hand to deport any undesirable emigrés, which for him, of course, meant foreign revolutionaries. The parliamentary debate in the House of Commons on the latter measure showed that it had been inspired by ruling-class fears of the memory of the effects of popular internationalist feeling aroused by the first French revolution of 1789.

Harsh as these measures were, they had more of a devastating effect on the Society of Fraternal Democrats than on the Chartist movement, and served more than any other single factor to cause the collapse of the Society.[32] It meant that the foreigners who had so actively participated in the work of the Society, some of whom had sat on the committee, could no longer continue such public activity for fear of deportation. Effectively then, the Society was deprived of the foreign membership which had made it so unique. But the government's repressive action not only repelled the emigrés, it also had an intimidating effect on Englishmen who supported the Fraternal Democrats—these people would now think twice before associating themselves with any openly revolutionary body which was obviously the target of government attacks.

There was, in addition, a subjective factor involved in facilitating the decline of the Fraternal Democrats, namely the profoundly demoralising effect of the defeat of 1848. It was not only the incidence of the shattering blow struck at the British Labour Movement which replaced "radiant hopes" by "bitter disappointment"[33], but the fact that such a defeat occurred on an international scale. All eyes had been turned to France during the glorious days of 1848. Then as fifty years previously, revolutionary France had been looked to as a beacon light by the exploited and the oppressed. When that light had been extinguished with such apparent ease and in so short a space of time in 1848, there seemed little hope for movements like the English one, that had less experience in the tactics of revolution-making. Harney was proved correct—"a blow struck at liberty on the Tagus" (though in this case the Seine), in practice truly was "an injury to the friends of freedom on the Thames".[34]

The Last Years

Despite all this, the Society maintained itself until 1852, albeit in a less active form and with less popular support. After the setbacks of 1848, internationalism gained less attention than hitherto and the Society concentrated more on agitating for popular demands at home like the abolition of stamp duty and the enactment of the People's Charter in order to achieve the political emancipation of the working class. Harney, in his new *Democratic Review*[35] justified this change in emphasis in the work of the Fraternal Democrats. His main argument was that the failure of the European Revolutions was in part due "to the fatal results of popular ignorance and blind popular confidence" shown especially in France by the way the middle class used the proletariat for its own ends. To counter this, so that the same mistakes do not repeat themselves, more democratic propaganda is necessary in order "to propagate a knowledge of the social rights of the people" which at present "the masses do not understand". Universal suffrage in itself is worthless unless the working class have such an understanding, and hence will not allow themselves to be bought by the bourgeoisie. This being the case, Harney saw the job of the Fraternal Democrats as laying the basis for such an understanding, and in this way, apparently, assume the role of the ideological wing of Chartism until the Charter itself was broadened.

The Northern Star gave way to the *Democratic Review*, and later the *Red Republican* as the populariser of internationalist ideas. O'Connor, as

[32] Cf. Th. Rothstein: "at a single blow the once flourishing organisation was smashed", (as a result of these measures) *From Chartism to Labourism*, p. 144.

[33] From a Manifesto produced by leading Fraternal Democrat/Chartists—*Northern Star*, 12th February, 1849.

[34] *Northern Star*, 12th February, 1847.

[35] *Democratic Review*, November, 1849.

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the owner of *The Northern Star* repeatedly interfered with Harney's work as editor and the latter eventually resigned this post in 1850. The *Red Republican* was a noteworthy journalistic venture if only for the fact that it carried the first English translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.

The arrival of French exiles in London, including such noted figures as Ledru-Rollin, Arago and Considérant in November 1849, seemed for a while to inject new spirit into the movement. The meeting held to welcome them was very well attended, as was the New Year's Festival in December in which about three hundred English and other "Red Republicans" took part. The famous "Haynau Incident" in which London draymen so forcefully demonstrated their contempt for the arch Austrian reactionary, General Haynau (during which Engels, in defiance of the Aliens Act, addressed a public meeting), seemed to augur a re-awakening. But this was not the case. Revival was short-lived; it was evident by 1851 that the Society was not flourishing, retaining as it did a grand total of 261 members and a fund containing the princely sum of thirty-five shillings.

Workshop of the World

Popular interest in internationalism (as distinct from proletarian internationalism) was *not* on the decline during the 1850s however, and this fact throws an important light on the cause of the collapse of the Fraternal Democrats. These years mark the high point of Victorian prosperity. British worldwide industrial supremacy had no rival. Britain dominated world trade and became the "workshop of the world". Trade was best conducted in a world free of wars and with countries free from national strife. This was in part, the message of the Great Exhibition of 1851 for it demonstrated that as far as trade is concerned there can be co-operation between two like-minded capitalist countries, even such traditional enemies as France and England. Far-sighted English capitalists drew a further conclusion from this, namely that capitalism must spread from country to country and that a pre-condition for its development was a bourgeois revolution. Given that it was a desirable condition for trade and commerce for a capitalist system to be prevalent in Europe,[36] then "moderate" revolution abroad against the old quasi-feudal dynasties still existing, was something that could be mildly encouraged.

Although the English Establishment had been horrified by the 1848 revolution in France and in 1852 had sworn not to recognise the Second Empire after Louis Napoleon's coup, declaring that it was a violation of the Divine Right of Kings, trade with that country had prospered as never before. Middle class liberal Free Traders drew the necessary lessons. Their dislike of the aristocracy (not so strong now as formerly since the triumph of Free Trade and *laissez faire* capitalism), liberal principles and desire to remove all obstacles hindering the development of capitalism conveniently united in recommending the national causes of such countries as Poland, Hungary and Italy to their notice, as did such anti-socialist leaders as Mazzini and Kossuth. Bourgeois internationalism thus erupted. The phenomenom itself was not new, but its scale and intensiveness was.

This bourgeois internationalism, while having a momentum of its own, was greatly influenced by the way proletarian internationalism had developed and won support "and must be seen as a semi-conscious attempt at competition with it".[37] If internationalism had to exist, then there was no reason why the bourgeoisie should not stimulate it and in doing so remove its distinctly proletarian and socialist features which had predominated in the 1840's, the fear of which had always plagued them. Thus an effort was made to court the trade unions and mechanics' institutes in an attempt to wean the working class away from foreign agitators while at the same time the Press launched a massive campaign against those who incited revolution, concentrating especially on foreigners.

The Fraternal Democrats, despite all the internationalist feeling manifested over Hungary and Italy, never regained their former position; they were simply "snowed under by bourgeois internationalism".[38] Continental leaders of nationalist movements no longer had to rely on the support of the working class and its organisations when they came to England. Like Kossuth they had grand official welcomes and turned down invitations to address proletarian groups. In a situation like this there was little the Fraternal Democrats could do other than engage in what was bound to be the mere rhetoric of proletarian internationalism, for there was no possibilty any more of inaugurating meaningful activity, although a last attempt was made late in 1852. This took the form of the Society pledging itself to support the "Shilling Subscription Fund for European Freedom", founded ironically enough by the radical, Linton. All mention of the Society disappears hereafter.

The internationalist exploits of the middle class

[36] For reasons of space and relevance, more detailed discussion of this will not be attempted here, although the writer is well aware that the present cursory analysis is far from adequate

[37] Th. Rothstein, *From Chartism to Labourism*, p. 158.

[38] Th. Rothstein. *ibid.* p. 158.

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were most successful in the years immediately preceding the Crimean War, thereafter internationalism became totally subservient to the interests of British foreign policy. The cause of Polish independence, for example, was championed only insofar as an independent Poland might be able to help England secure victory over the Russians in the protracted fighting at Sebastapol (Sir Robert Peel even formed a Polish legion to further this aim), while the Hungarian cause was almost completely forgotten. It was from this morass that a revival of proletarian internationalism occurred in the form of an "International Association" which lasted from 1855 to 1859. It was this body which provided the link of continuity between the Fraternal Democrats and the First International.

The Story Continues

Thus the story of the development of proletarian internationalism did not end with the death of the Fraternal Democrats, although in many respects it began with the Society's birth. The major criticisms that can be made of the Society are twofold. Firstly, the Society remained too much of a mere talking-shop, content with passing paper resolutions without devising any means of acting on them. Secondly, the Society appeared to be unconcerned with any kind of detailed theoretical analysis, preferring to state and restate general principles. Both these "faults" were remedied by the First International, but in the Chartist period they served, in the short term only, to strengthen the Society, rather than weaken it. The constitution of the Society as a purely propagandist body was a conscious act on the part of its participants for tactical reasons--but they were probably over-cautious, judging from the ready response given to the ideals of proletarian internationalism in the 1840s. The lack of any detailed theoretical analysis of such phenomena as wage slavery and exploitation, or of any detailed perspective of revolutionary change, was all the more surprising at a time when socialist theory was at one of its most fertile phases of development.

As the first organised standard-bearer of the ideal of international proletarian solidarity, the Society of Fraternal Democrats made a dual contribution. On the one hand it gave organisational and political coherence to a concept which, because of its very magnitude, could have remained nebulous: on the other hand, it did its work successfully enough to ensure that its ideas permeated the British Labour Movement sufficiently to ensure their propagation long after the Society's death.

The fact that the Society was not strong enough to weather the storm of the powerful new internationalism of the middle class in the 1850s is no indication that the influence of the Fraternal Democrats was ephemeral; quite the contrary for the largely opportunistic internationalism of the bourgeoisie soon ran its course, while the work of the Society was continued in its true spirit by the First International and its successors to the present day.

Discussion Contributions on:

Socialism, Democracy and the One-Party System

A. J. Papard

In his articles Monty Johnstone tries to argue that the repression of opposition parties in the Soviet Union was a purely temporary measure necessitated by the exceptional circumstances which existed in the early years of Soviet power. He quotes at considerable length from Lenin in an effort to support his contention, but only succeeds in displaying his ignorance of the nature and purpose of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Whilst the one-party state may well have evolved from the peculiar circumstances of the Russian Revolution and the civil war which followed, the principle of repressing all parties opposed to Socialism is the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian dictatorship.

Comrade Johnstone's quotes from Lenin on the question of other political parties all refer to Socialist parties of one sort or another. Had the post-Revolution events in Russia taken a different course, parties such as the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks may well have retained their identity in the Soviet state. Even though the CPSU

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is the only legal political party in the USSR, one should not overlook the fact that other organisations such as the trade unions play a big part in Soviet democracy. Indeed many non-Party people are elected as representatives on the various bodies of Soviet state power.

We have only to look at countries like the GDR and CSSR to see that the one-party system is by no means universal in the Socialist world. These two Socialist countries have a National Front composed of various democratic political parties, which accept the principle that the Marxist-Leninist Party, as the representative of the working class, must play the leading role in the government.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The crux of the matter is not a question of a one party system or a multi-party system but whether or not parties opposed to Socialism should be allowed. The principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat firmly rules out the idea of capitalist opposition being tolerated in the form of political parties, anti-Socialist newspapers, literature and mass-media—in fact proletarian dictatorship means all forms of capitalist opposition must be crushed by the Socialist state. The works of Marx, Engels and Lenin make this fact explicitly clear. For example in *The State and Revolution* Lenin writes:

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . cannot result merely in an expansion of democracy. Simultaneously with an immense expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the money-bags, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must suppress them in order to free humanity from wage slavery, their resistance must be crushed by force."

Lenin then quotes Engels:

> "The proletariat needs the state, not in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist."

Lenin continues:

> "Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e. exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the change democracy undergoes during the transition from capitalism to communism. Only in communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely crushed, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes . . . only then 'the state ceases to exist', and 'it becomes possible to speak of freedom'. Only then will a truly complete democracy become possible and be realised, a democracy without any exceptions whatever."

The lesson we must learn is to analyse democracy from a class position. "Democracy" in itself is meaningless, it has to be qualified. Bourgeois democracy is democracy for the ruling capitalist class; Socialist democracy is democracy for the masses—democracy for the working class and its allies. This is the only form of democracy we are interested in—therefore from our class position all who are opposed to Socialist democracy are enemies of democracy.

It is not a question of why capitalists should be excluded from the democratic system—though the reasons are clear enough (they would confuse and divide the people, capitalise on temporary faults or difficulties and promote the overthrow of the Socialist system in favour of the system of private enterprise which appeals to the greed of the individual.) The real question is why should capitalists be permitted to participate in democracy seeing that they are in fact the enemies of democracy and seek to destroy it. The newly won freedom of the masses under Socialism gives them real control over their destiny for the first time—this freedom must never be endangered by the cancer of bourgeois philosophy. In a Socialist society capitalists have no democratic rights whatsoever—they are the class enemy and as such must be destroyed, not given freedom to sow chaos and confusion. The sole purpose of the Socialist state is to crush classes alien to Socialism in preparation for the classless society which will exist under Communism. It is therefore revisionist nonsense to talk about granting capitalists and enemies of Socialism democratic rights.

Democracy under Socialism takes on a new dimension for the hitherto oppressed classes. For the first time they have the opportunity to play a direct part in deciding how society is run. The masses must be taught to use this opportunity to the full, and they can only do this by becoming politically active in the fullest sense. Democracy means taking on responsibility, and once the masses are sufficiently educated to be able to take on the responsibility of self-government the state as such will begin to wither away and the era of Communism will be ushered in. Since the working class and its allies must merge into a classless society before Communism can come about, there is in fact a strong argument in favour of the one party system, for once the broad masses of the people are united as active members of the Marxist-Leninist Party the formula will be set for Communist society when the masses will make decisions and run society as a unified body rather than as a collection of splinter groups divided by class contradictions.

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Why did it Happen?

Robin Jardine

In the discussion on "Why did it Happen?" in the May issue of *Marxism Today*, Bill Carritt ends his contribution by stating that Communist Parties everywhere should "face the examination and discussion of the past". That is, of course, perfectly correct, because it is from our knowledge of the past that we are able to arrive at an understanding of the present; but we must not confine ourselves to that. The trouble is that once you start examining the past, it is difficult to know where to stop. The course of events in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death was not influenced only by the cult of the individual or the cult of the party. The revolution was a *Russian* one, and the way it developed, including the leadership of Stalin, was basically the result of the whole past history of Imperial Russia.

I suggest, therefore, that it is quite as important for us to discuss, not just "Why did it Happen?", but also "What has been happening since and what direction do events seem to be taking?". And that question, I believe, can only be answered by posing another question which is basic to any consideration of the past, present, or future. That question is: "Why, after more than 50 years of the existence of a socialist state, is socialist democracy so conspicuous by its absence?".

Is that too sweeping? Consider the case of Dr. Medvedev, found to be mentally normal by one commission of psychiatrists, and promptly recommitted for a month's observation by a fresh commission, drawn from the Serbsky Institute for the Criminally Insane in Moscow. His supposed insanity, we are informed, consisted in his protesting about the postal censorship!

It is interesting, by the way, that the Soviet authorities are not original in seeking to have people who do not agree with them declared insane. The Russian Imperial Government made use of this procedure, notably in the case of the author Peter Chaadeyev in 1840. He published an essay attacking the conception that Russian culture was something distinctive, neither Eastern nor Western, but something original which other nations did not have. For this he was declared insane. Past and Present shake hands over the years.

Which Road to Socialism?

We are now faced with the challenge—"Which Road to Socialism?". In the last 20 years or so the theory that each country has its own road to socialism has been developed. Each road should cover somewhat different ground, because of the different historical background and experiences of each country. But the conception was not of divergent, but rather of parallel roads, whose general direction was set by the Soviet road. Now we are being forced to the conviction that the Soviet Road to Socialism is not the road which should govern the direction in which we in Britain are striving to proceed. The main reason for this conviction is that what the Soviet leadership considers to be the practice of socialist democracy runs quite counter to our ideas on the subject.

This is not really surprising, as a little consideration of history will show. Neither socialism nor democracy ever formed part of the historical background and experiences of the Soviet Union. Both form part of our historical background and experiences—and of the Czech people too. This is not due to any superiority of Western Europe over Eastern Europe, but is, quite simply, due to the demands of the developing capitalist system. For efficient working of the system the individual had to be freed from the restrictions of the hierarchic society of feudalism. In the political field this led to the idea that *every* individual had rights where production was now social, it led to the idea that the private appropriation of the fruits of social production could be replaced by the social appropriation of those fruits—the essence of socialism.

What we need to do is to make it quite clear to the socialist world and its leadership that our roads must now lie apart. The Soviet Union is no longer a model to be copied, an example to be followed. This is not anti-Sovietism but a recognition of political realities. In the measure that we are willing to acknowledge this openly for all to see and hear, in that measure, I firmly believe, we shall be recognised as a party with ideas of its own, which stands upon its own feet, free from Soviet apron strings.

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Intelligence, Race, Class and Education

Dr. Len Crome

After Hitler and the war it is no longer respectable to speak of superior or inferior races. What racialists, like Vorster, Wallace and Enoch Powell, are now stressing are differences between people. The arguments are more subtle and difficult to see through, and a large number of people fall for them. C. P. Snow making his flattering and well-intentioned remarks about the intelligence of Jews is unwittingly as racialist as the Scotsman during the war who said that he had no prejudices against any people, not even Poles.

Certain differences between people are real enough and it is necessary therefore to be clear about their significance.

Apart from the obvious and less obvious transitional skin colouring and facial appearances, there are, for example, the geographical differences in the distribution of blood groups, which outlast for some time emigration to other countries. In England and other European countries B group is relatively rare; in the Far East it is very common. This is not surprising since genes for blood groups are transmitted as Mendelian dominants so that people living together for a long time will tend to perpetuate the same patterns of blood group distribution. Blood groups are not in themselves pathogenic, although there may be a slight linkage between certain groups and some forms of disease, such as cancer.

Other genes with more pronounced pathological effect may also have a distinct geographical distribution. For example, sickle cell anaemia or glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase deficiency are more common around the Mediterranean or Africa. They cause higher mortality, but may offer certain local advantages. Thus it is held that the sickle cell trait offers some protection against some forms of severe malaria which may be endemic. There is no evidence that any of these genes are in any way linked with intelligence.

Lower Reaches of Intelligence

My own work has been with the lower reaches of intelligence, and certain genetic differences have been stated to exist in this field. For example, the gene for phenylketonuria, a condition usually associated with severe mental retardation, is believed to be more common in Western Europe, the so-called Celtic fringe of the continent, and less common in Central and Eastern Europe. But recent studies show that the differences have been exaggerated. Other genes are associated with a very severe degeneration of nerve cells—so-called neurolipidosis. It has been said that certain of these genes occurred overwhelmingly in Jews. One worker in Israel went so far as to state that a certain form of these disorders—Gaucher's disease—occurs only in the descendants of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. My own work and increasingly that of other workers has shown that this belief is quite unfounded. A vicious circle is easily set up by prolonged usage; if doctors believe that a certain disease does not occur in Gentiles they will tend to diagnose the same condition as something else. Statistical artifacts therefore are perpetuated.

Nutritional Causes

Patients suffering from conditions determined by single genes constitute only a small minority among the severely mentally retarded. Moreover, people suffering from these diseases rarely reproduce. Most of the others are caused by a combination of polygenic inheritance and environmental causes. Racial, geographical and economic influences have been studied in some groups of these conditions. For example Knobloch, Rider, Harper and Pasamanick (1956) have studied the incidence of mental handicap in negro and white children in Baltimore. The incidence of cerebral palsy, epilepsy and other forms of neurological defects with mental retardation was higher in negro than in white children. When, however, a correction was made for a greater incidence of prematurity among negro children the above mentioned difference in mental handicap disappeared. (Prematurity is defined as birth weight under 2.5 kg. and may be produced by a large number of causes, many of which are environmental.)

Nutritional causes have been shown to play a very large part in influencing physical and neurological development. This has been shown both in experimental studies and by clinical and epidemiological observations. It applies to specific

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deficiencies in antenatal life such as lack of certain vitamins, and general dietetic deficiencies. Platt and Stewart (1968) have shown distinct irreversible changes in pups born to bitches kept on diets inadequate in protein. Several studies have shown that if the diet of poor pregnant women is supplemented by protein and vitamins the prematurity rate is decreased and prematurity is, as already mentioned, an important factor in the causation of mental retardation (Knobloch and Pasamanick, 1962). The I.Q.s of children of poor Negro women whose diet was supplemented by vitamins and iron in the second half of pregnancy were found to be higher than those of controls (Harrell, Woodyard and Gates, 1956).

Social Class

Social class has been shown to be a significant factor in the production of malformations of the central nervous system in Ireland and Scotland, though not, apparently, in England. Malformations occur more commonly in children of parents belonging to social class V. The causative elements of lower social class are clearly environmental, and include overcrowding with greater liability to infection, inadequate diet and inferior medical and educational facilities for parents and children.

Inadequate nutrition may also be an important factor in postnatal life. Several studies have shown that I.Q.s of "coloured" and negro children are lowered by inadequate nutrition in infancy compared with better nourished controls (Stock and Smythe, 1963; Cravioto, Delicardie and Birch, 1966).

Severe mental retardation may also be associated with specific dietary deficiencies in postnatal life, such as deficiency of vitamin B—pellagra, and of protein—kwashiokor.

It would be possible to cite more examples of how environment and not race explains differences in the racial and class incidence of conditions associated with mental retardation.

In fact, no single instance of specific non-environmental racial correlation with mental retardation has ever been established.

Interaction of Factors

It may be thought that the problem of severe mental retardation is aetiologically quite distinct from milder differences in intelligence; that what is correct for the causation of imbecility is quite separate from not being able to obtain 3 "A" levels. But this is not necessarily so. Our experience shows that the same aetiological factor may and does have a wide range of effects. An attack of severe meningitis may cause imbecility in one individual and only weakening of concentration in another. Naturally, the weight of biological as against cultural factors may be expected to be different in the causation of major as contrasted with minor handicap. But they are not, in principle, aetiologically different. Therefore, what has been learned from the study of mental retardation is relevant to all grades of intelligence. Lowering of intelligence is caused by an interaction of inherited and acquired factors at all levels of intelligence.

If this is so, why do so many honest workers go for the bait of scientific objectivity and return laden by bits of worthless baggage? Uses and abuses of psychology and statistics, squaring the circle—quantifying the unquantifiable, non-recognition of artifacts—all play a part. One is impressed by the ease with which significance is attached to isolated factors from such complex and ill-defined phenomena such as race. Is it not a waste of time?

It is no longer fashionable to say that one can learn from Soviet experience. But their educational policy has surely been splendid. (I am not sure about some of their current trends.) They have not been asking how the intelligence of Uzbeks and Yascuts differs from that of Armenians and Ukrainians. But how to give all the best schools and teachers they could muster. And now all of these rub shoulders in their Academies of Science.

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